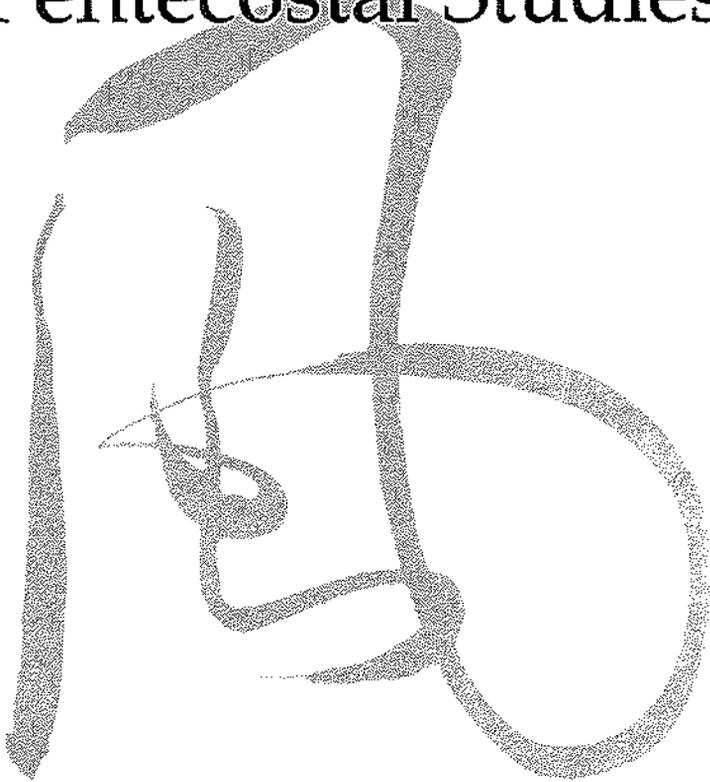


Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies



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THE JOURNAL SEEKS TO PROVIDE A FORUM: to encourage serious theological thinking and articulation by Pentecostals/Charismatics in Asia; to promote interaction among Asian Pentecostals/Charismatics and dialogue with other Christian traditions; to stimulate creative contextualization of the Christian faith; and to provide a means for Pentecostals/Charismatics to share their theological reflection.

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PREPARING FOR THE NEXT GENERATION PENTECOSTAL THINKERS IN ASIA

This issue of the journal concludes the ninth year of its service, and there are many reasons why we should be thankful to the Lord for its continuation and modest contribution it has made to the world of Pentecostal studies. In its formative years, the significant leadership of Dr. William W. Menzies as one of the founding editors was critical. He successfully demonstrated how the western church can truly “empower” churches in the South and the East to its maturity in reflective thinking. Readers and the editors alike owe a great debt to this committed Pentecostal scholar. This is also the time to acknowledge the leading role of the new co-editor, Dr. Joseph Suico, for the future issues. At the same time, I now assume an associate role. This may be the best time to share something that I desired so seriously and yet not realized during my editorial years.

Often “traditioning” has been a major topic among Pentecostal academia: how one generation faithfully hands down their theological and spiritual tradition to the next is crucial to the continuation of any tradition. Recent history of Nazism and Communism informs us that they built their ideological minds among the youth for the survival or even growth of their movements. Incidentally, this is biblically sound, as every people of God, including children and youth, are to engage in theological reflection. Pentecostals have paid good attention to this dynamic group, often brushed aside as “kids” who require care of adults, by including them in the experience of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, children are often urged to pray for baptism in the Holy Spirit and exhorted to commit their lives to the Lord (whatever it may mean to them). It is, therefore, natural to hear that many missionaries and ministers in the West surrendered their lives to the Lord's work in their youthful ages. The Boys and Girls Missionary Crusade (BGMC) is an extremely successful missionary program among youngsters in the US Assemblies of God. They do not only learn what mission is about, but they actually participate in mission.

And this journal has received generous financial assistance from the BGMC funds. Korea presents another example: The younger generation, from elementary to high school students, is the major force for summer short-term missionary work. Pentecostal churches join this trend.

However, how the next generation is encouraged to be theological reflective is another matter. It is true that not everyone is to think theologically. However, we need to be intentional in nurturing such an environment so that those who are gifted or interested will begin to develop their “aptitude” in their early years.

When I received a research paper done by a high school student in the Philippines on the topic of speaking in tongues, I was looking for everywhere if there is any publication to which I could send the piece. It was too rare to receive such a piece to ignore the potential of the next generation. My searches for an appropriate platform resulted in futility: Although there are many Christian “kids” publications, they are mainly “for” the children, but not “by” them. During this period, I further learned that many Bible teachers in Christian schools throughout the world may have such studies done by their students.

One option I contemplated was to publish a special issue of such a collection. This would require the solicitation of worthy studies all over the world. Another idea was to publish the collection as a regular issue of the journal. The third option was to include such studies in our regular journal publication. In any case, I had to struggle with a serious issue: How such “amateurism” will affect the professional and academic nature of the journal.

Is it too wild for this generation to create such a platform for the next generation for their theological reasoning? I personally hope that there will be a systematic and intentional program to encourage the development of young minds. Such program will significantly enhance the “traditioning” of Pentecostal theology and spirituality to the next generation. Then they will not only learn the content of our traditioning, but also the methods of doing it. The future can only be better in this way.

Wonsuk Ma
Co-editor

PANDITA RAMABAI: A WOMAN FOR ALL SEASONS
Pandita Ramabai Saraswati Mary Dongre Medhavi (1858 - 1922)

Ruth Vassar Burgess

1. Introduction

Ramabai Dongre (1858 - 1922) was a woman for all seasons. Born under colonial rule while Queen Victoria reigned and to the politically powerful Chitpawan Brahmin caste in western India, Ramabai moved from Hindu Orthodoxy to Evangelical Christianity, from poverty to securing funds from western countries to build and maintain Mukti Mission, from being oppressed as a young widow to championing the cause of Indian women, and from rare insights into sacred, ancient writings to developing a lexicon in Marathi from the Greek and Latin texts when translating the Bible. Ramabai is acclaimed as a social reformer, scholar, visionary, diplomat and Christian saint.

In this article we first gain an understanding of her early life, the context that formed a foundation for her enculturation. Second, recognition of Ramabai's intelligence and communication abilities follows as the pundits in Calcutta bestow two esteemed titles - Pandita and Saraswati - on the young girl. In the third section, Ramabai's indignation rises against unjust social practices, especially the conditions of women, which moves her to interact with westerners. Extending her vision, Ramabai and Manoramabai (her young child) study, visit, and form support groups in England and in the United States. Living her vision in section five, we read of her life's work at Mukti. This is followed by a description of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Mukti. Finally, we summarize the life's work of an intelligent and acclaimed woman who was led by the Holy Spirit.

2. Early Life

The *Chitpawans* were one of the highest of the 12 divisions of Brahmans whose achievements were notable in India's earlier history. They belonged to the *Madhava* sect of *Vaishnavite* Hinduism. Special position was not to be hers as her learned father disagreed with their interpretations of education and the role of women. He was a reformer. Ananda Shastri Dongre would not accept that women of the higher castes should not learn to read and write the Sanskrit language, study sacred literature, and master the truths of the Hindu religion.¹

Due to his caste and learned position, Ananda Shastri was regarded as both a philosopher and a teacher. Early in his life he lived under the patronage of the Indian princes and had studied in the court at Poona. There to his astonishment, Ananda observed one of the princesses in the household of the Royal *Peshwas* reading Sanskrit. The seed was sown for extended literacy. His privileged life was soon to change as he began to propose alternate education practices for women.

Teaching women to read Sanskrit was a heresy. Ananda Shastri violated this when he taught his second wife, Lakshmibai 9 years of age, who then taught their children to read and write Sanskrit.² He was called before a jury of 400 scholars, priests, and sastris at Udipi at their religious headquarters. After two months, the disputation continued. He won the debate but lost some friends. Seeking a holy life, Ananda entered the Gangamula forest with his family. They became expositors of the *Puranas*, which were the scripture of the common people and shared freely their resources with wandering pilgrims.³

¹William F. Smalley. *Alliance Missions in India - 1892-1972*, volume I. The Christian Missionary Alliance Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado, typewritten manuscript, 975.

²Helen S. Dyer. *Pandita Ramabai, The Story of Her Life* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900), p. 13. He found her while on a pilgrimage from a fellow pilgrim. He took his young wife and delivered her to his mother to train, with the understanding that she would become literate. Later Ramabai believed the old Brahmin scholar was one of the class whom Peter confessed to be "accepted" with God in Acts 10: 35.

³Vishal Mangalwadi. *Pandita Ramabai Saraswati: Indian Woman of the Millennium*. <http://www.intindian.com/Vol7-6/Pandita%20Ramaibai.htm>. October 1999, 1.

When finances were depleted, the family became holy pilgrims traveling from one holy site to another seeking salvation. At the age of six months, Ramabai was carried in a woven, cane basket on a man's head down the mountainside. From one holy place to another, bathing in sacred rivers, visiting temples, worshipping household gods, studying, and teaching, the family subsisted.

Ramabai reports awakening early by a loving mother to hear and repeat her lessons. Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindu classics, became her mother language. Hearing her parents speak Marathi and later reading books and newspapers, she became proficient in the local vernacular. While traveling she acquired knowledge of *Kanarese*, *Hindustani*, *Bengali*, and other Sanskrit based languages.

Then the great famine of 1876 - 1877 swept the subcontinent. Within a few months, Ananda Shastri (now old and blind), Lakshmibai, and Ramabai's elder sister died from starvation. Ramabai reports her father held her tightly in her arms, and stroking her head and cheeks told her with broken emotion to remember how he loved her, how he had taught her to do right, and never to depart from the way of righteousness. She was to live an honorable life and to serve God all of her life. "Remember, my child," he said, "You are my youngest, my most beloved child. I have given you into the hand of our God; you are His, and to Him alone you must belong, and serve Him all your life." Ramabai continues, "The God of all flesh, did not find it impossible to bring me, a great sinner and unworthy child of His, out of heathen darkness into the saving light of His love and salvation. I can now say to the departed spirit of the loving parent - 'Yes, dear father, I will serve the only true God to the last.'" ⁴

We had all the sacred learning necessary to lead an honest religious life, but the pride of caste and superior learning and vanity of life prevented our stooping down to acquire some industry whereby we might have saved the precious lives of our parents. In short, we had not common sense, and foolishly spent all the money in giving alms to Brahmans to please the gods, who, we thought, would send a shower of gold mohurs upon us and make us rich and happy. My dear brother, a stalwart young fellow of twenty-one, spoil his health and wasted his finely built body by fasting months and months. But nothing came of all this futile effort to please the gods - the stone images remained as hard as ever,

⁴"Pandita Ramabai, *The Story of Her Life*," 19 -21.

and never answered our prayers.⁵ Their faith in the Hindu religion was shaken.

Ramabai and her brother Srinivasa continued the pilgrim wanderings throughout northern and eastern India to Calcutta, seeking a deeper level of spirituality. They experienced hunger, walked barefoot, and used sand to cover them at night. Occasionally they were taken in to the homes of high caste Hindus. It was here Ramabai with her keen observation skills saw the cruel details of home-life, especially the lives of child-widows. These injustices were to build a resolve that became her lifelong mission.⁶

3. Recognition in Calcutta

As early as December, 1880 news of Ramabai's eloquence reached England. It was reported that "an accomplished Brahmin lady traveling through Bengal with her brother was holding meetings on the education and emancipation of women. They were received everywhere with great enthusiasm by the Hindus, who were delighted to hear their holy Sanskrit from a woman's lips."⁷ It seemed to them as if Sarasvati (the goddess of eloquence and learning) had come down to visit them." She was twenty-two years of age, had fair complexion, and light grey eyes.

The learned pundits bestowed the title of Sarasvati on Ramabai. In addition, they declared she was to be known as Pandita Ramabai, the highest, and most esteemed title for a great teacher. This is the first time this title was given to a woman.

While in Dacca Srinivasa died in 1880. Pandita was without family. After six months she married a Bengalee gentleman, Bipin Behari Das Medhavi. He had been a friend of her brother.

Since Pandita Ramabai's parents refrained from marrying her at an early age, she was able to select her husband. As a Brahmin, Ramabai broke caste rules by marrying a Sudra, the fourth of the Hindu castes, who was educated at a mission school and went on to be trained as a Bengali lawyer. He was born in the Sylhet District of Assam. The ceremony was a civil marriage rite, for they had rejected Hinduism.

⁵ Pandita Ramabai, 16, 17. Pandita asserts they "know also that we worshipped not the images, but some gods whom they represented."

⁶ Meera Kosambi. *Stri Dharma Niti*, June 1882 in *Pandita Ramabai: Through Her Own Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 36 -101.

⁷ "Pandita Ramabai. *The Story of Her Life*," 27 - 29.

Their marriage was a short (16 months) but happy union. The women around her expressed dismay when Ramabai called her husband by his first name. As was the custom in those days, the wife should call her husband terms such as "my lord," or "most exalted one."

While living in her husband's home in Assam, a baby girl was born. She was named Manorama, or "Heart's Joy." This name was in contrast to derogatory names for girl babies used by most families, who preferred male children, especially for the first child.

Then after sixteen months, Bipin Medhavi died of cholera. Now, she was a young widow and without a son. She knew the consequences of being a young widow. She had campaigned to change how society treated these young girls. Now she was a young widow. After paying off the family debts and gathering Manorama in her arms, Ramabai traveled back to Poona in western India. A group of intellectuals there had begun advocating for social justice, including women's issues.

In 1882 Ramabai spoke before the Hunter Commission, a British governmental agency about the lack of education and desperate social conditions and treatment of women. The president was so impressed by her views and ability to communicate that he had her talk translated from Marathi and printed in English. It is said that Queen Victoria was so moved that she subsequently established women's hospitals and medical training for the first female physicians in India. This led to the establishment of the Arya Mahila Samaj, where teachers were trained to teach women.

Pandita's lectures made a positive impression on the best families in Poona. She soon traveled throughout Bombay Presidency forming branches of the Arya Mahila Samaj. She based her speeches on her knowledge of the Shastras, which she interpreted as supporting the instruction of women.

Soon afterwards, Pandita Ramabai perceived the benefits of learning English and becoming a physician. *Stri Dharma Niti* was written and published at this time to pay for the widow's and child's passages to England. Christian friends referred her to the hospitality of the Anglican Sisterhood at Wantage, working in Poona. Later from England, Pandita writes, "As I was by birth a Brahmin, my religion was at first Hinduism. Then for a time, I was a Theist, believing that Theism was taught in the Vedas. In the last two months, however, I have accepted Christianity and hope shortly to receive Holy Baptism."⁸

⁸ "The Cry of Indian Women," (June, 1882) in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 106 - 118.

4. Extending Her Vision

In 1883, Ramabai and Manorama arrived in England. After a year of studying English and the Christian scriptures, both Ramabai and child were baptized according to the rites of the Church of England. On trips to London's lower east side, Ramabai saw the compassion extended to these unfortunate women and children. Her heart responded with the message and practices of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Unfortunately, a hearing loss precluded her acceptance into medical school. Ramabai accepted the post of Professor of Sanskrit at the Cheltenham Ladies' College, where she stayed for a year and a half.

Upon receipt of an invitation from Anandibai Joshi, of Poona, to attend her graduation exercises from medical school, Ramabai traveled to Philadelphia. Here she met a dear friend, Rachel Bodley, A.M., M.D., the Dean of the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. Both women shared a common grief when Anandibai died shortly after graduation in Poona.

The women and the ecclesiastical missionary movements were fervent in the United States. Denominational women's groups were moved by Pandita's stories. They shared her vision to found a school where Hindu widows of high caste could be educated and become self-sufficient. *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* was written during this time. From an insider's perspective, it told of the practices and abuses heaped on Indian women.

In an interview (December, 1887) with a reporter from a Chicago daily press, Ramabai shared her view regarding missionaries. "(They) are showing by their precepts and example that Christianity does not mean going into other countries and taking possession of them, putting taxes upon the people, introducing the liquor traffic, and gaining a great deal of revenue from the infamous traffics in rum and opium. As their numbers multiply they are gaining a foothold in the country and commanding the love and respect of the people by their earnestness in missionary work... I hope some day we shall owe to their labours and their prayers a great army of Christian apostles..."

⁹ *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* (1887), in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, pp.131-180. "Religious Denominations and Charities in the USA" (1889), in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, pp. 181-194. "The Condition of Women in the USA" (1889), in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 195-244.

"Christ," argued Ramabai, "came to give different gifts to different people - some He made prophets; some He made preachers; some He made teachers. Since I have become a Christian I have thought He has given me the gift of being a sweeper. I want to sweep away some of the old difficulties that lie before the missionaries in their efforts to reach our Hindu widows."¹⁰ Pandita did not condemn missionaries and mission work.

Before leaving the United States, Ramabai began two initiatives, one relating to education and the other was organizational. First, she conceived the idea of introducing kindergartens in India. Money was raised to purchase 600 electrotype plates for the illustration of her complete series of educational materials for girls. Second, with the help of others, they formed the Ramabai Association. The Association headquarters was in Boston. The President and Vice-Presidents included representatives of five religious denominations. The Board of Trustees secured some of the best business intellects of Boston, and the Executive Committee was composed entirely of women.¹¹ Their goal was to establish circles throughout the United States who would pledge for ten years to support Pandita Ramabai's work among the Indian women.

Bidding farewell (May, 1888) to her friends in Boston, Pandita traveled through Canada gaining friends and forming circles all the way. Before leaving for India from San Francisco (November 1888), she entreated her friend Dr. Rachel Bodley to remind the readers that we must educate "the high-cast child-widows, for I solemnly believe that this hated and despised class of women, educated and enlightened, are by God's grace to redeem India." When she landed in Bombay (February 1, 1889) there was Manorama, now about 8 years of age. The mother did not want her daughter to have all her education in England and not be able to live within the Indian culture. This belief of respecting one's heritage culture was extended to western missionaries. Often converts of Christianity drifted towards a western style of life. Sometimes missionaries fostered this unintentionally. As a result, discontent over styles of living frequently led to debt, and other relational problems. Since Christianity was an Asiatic religion, Pandita thought it would be adaptable to Indian customs of food and dress. She maintained her practice as a vegetarian, wore saris, and kept her hair cropped, which was

¹⁰ "Pandita Ramabai, *The Story of Her Life*," 42- 43, In the Indian context, a sweeper is a low, menial job, often required to empty portable toilets and remove debris.

¹¹ "Pandita Ramabai, *A Great Life in India Missions*," 23 - 42.

the sign of a widow. Pandita advocated that Hindi become the national language and the devanigiri script be adopted as the national alphabet.

Six weeks later Ramabai opened the Widows' Home in Bombay, the Sharada Sadan or Abode of Wisdom. It was located back of the Chowpatty Sea-face. Two students were enrolled and the curriculum was taught in three languages - Marathi, English, and Sanskrit. The primary goal was not to "promulgate" Christianity. She pledged to her friends the school would respect religious freedom. There would be facilities for each to perform their sacred rites and the customs of caste would be observed. Although she and her assistant would worship according to the Christian faith, no conversion attempts would be made on the students.

By 1892 the Abode of Wisdom was moved to Poona because it was a healthier place, cheaper, and the two-acre compound more suitable than the congested urban life. There were about 40 pupils; most of the girls were from 15 to 25. Many of the older women had their heads shaved and hid their faces in their saris to hide the disfigurement imposed by cruel customs. Each morning Ramabai, Soonderbai, and Manorama met for Bible reading and prayer before the duties of the day began. They left their door open. Soon the students began to draw closer and some joined in the worship. By the spring 1893, about half of the child widows in the Sharada Sadan were attending these prayers. The Brahmin supporters were indignant and withdrew 25 girls. Several of the leading social reformers were enraged and demanded closing the school. But her American supporters stood behind Ramabai and she weathered the storm.

Besides social unrest, there were health and disease considerations in the cities. Initially, Ramabai thought the Hindus would realize the advantage of educating women and financially support her work after ten years of outside financial support. As time passed, it became evident internal support would not be forthcoming. After meditation and prayer, Ramabai thought of starting a fruit farm. Land was found in Kedgaon, which is about 40 miles south of Poona. First, the trustees of the American Fund turned down the request. Ramabai went to Bombay to extract money from her life insurance, but did not succeed. As the steam engine pulled in to Poona station, a tiny bird was seen unperturbed on a branch as the smoke and steam cloistered around. Ramabai "thought of what the Bible said about the sparrow, and felt ashamed of her lack of faith."¹² Prayers and supplications followed. In 1894, two years after

¹² "Pandita Ramabai, *A Great Life in Indian Missions*," 29 - 31.

Ramabai and Soonderbai joined in prayer, sufficient funds were received from American friends to purchase the farmland.¹³

5. Spiritual Formation

Ramabai writes (1895) in a tract about her spiritual experiences. "When I turned my attention to searching for the truth in the Hindu and Christian religions, and comparing them with each other, I found Christianity to be the better of the two, and accepted it. I was duly baptized in the Church of England. I believed the Apostles' Creed, and all the essential doctrines of Christianity. My mind was at rest; and I trusted in God, believed on Christ, and prayed in His name. I did not adhere to any special sect, nor do I now. It was enough for me to be called a Christian, on the ground of my belief in Christ as the Saviour of mankind."

"I had many doubts and many difficulties in matter of belief. So many sects, so many opinions, so much want of spirituality and much shallow talk in the name of religion... I went on reading the Bible only and trusted in God's mercy."

"Some years ago I was brought to the conviction that mine was only an intellectual belief - a belief in which there was no life. It looked for salvation in the future after death; and consequently my soul had not 'passed from death unto life.' God showed me how very dangerous my position was, and what a wretched and lost sinner I was; and how necessary it was for me to obtain salvation in the present, and not in some future time. I repented long; I became very restless and almost ill, and passed many sleepless nights. The Holy Spirit so got hold of me that I could not rest until I found salvation then and there."

After reading the biography of the Life of Amanda Smith, Pandita Ramabai earnestly desired the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in her body. At a camp meeting in April in Lanouli she heard Mr. Gregson speak as one who had received and was filled with the Holy Spirit and knew the deep things of God. After talking with a friend and Mr. Gregson, "we prayed then that I might receive the Holy Spirit; but it was not until the evening of that day that I felt conscious of His presence in

¹³ "Pandita Ramabai, *The Story of Her Life*," 77, 78. The two women relied on the scripture, "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven."

me. Since then I have received much blessing, and am ever grateful to God for showing me the way of this blessed life."¹⁴

Ramabai received a spiritual message that the Lord was preparing her for a greater work. God impressed on her that He was going to give her 300 souls. Puzzled, she did not know how the Sarada Saran fit into the eternal plan. One friend suggested that Ramabai go out as a traveling evangelist all over the land proclaiming what God can do for those who trust him fully. She was willing to relinquish her salary and trust God for her needs.

6. Rescuing Famine Girls¹⁵

By the autumn 1896 some were beginning to doubt her prophecy that God was going to give her more souls to help. In October, news of the terrible famine in the Central Provinces was received. She realized God called her to go and rescue some of the young widows who were starving to death. By the end of December Ramabai mustered sufficient courage to obey the call. With a few rupees in hand, she started her rescue missions. God provided the money as her rescue efforts grew. Friends began to donate funds for transportation and expanding expenditures. Three hundred girls were rescued during the first mobilization.

Not to underestimate the rescue perils, equally remarkable was caring for these poor creatures. "All were miserably dirty; many diseased - most were suffering from sore heads, sore mouths, and other complaints caused by starvation." A couple tried to burn the buildings. Some of the older ones ran away. From Rajput, they learned the practice of infanticide was still prevalent. Usually girl children were strangled or exposed to death to avoid the expense of their lives and marriage. Then Ramabai urged removal of young girls from the relief camps and poor houses where agents of evil lured them to destruction. They were contracting bad diseases from their cruel masters and left to die along the roadside.

Rescuing the famine girls was halted when news arrived that the bubonic plague that had been raging in Bombay had spread to Poona.

¹⁴ "Pandita Ramabai, *The Story of Her Life*," 86-89. Ramabai supports her spirituality by the following scriptures: Romans 8:16, John 1:12, John 18:3, Matthew 11:27, Matthew 11:25, Matthew 18:3, John 3:36, Romans 8:15.

¹⁵ "Famine Experiences" (1897), 248-260 in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*.

This meant stopping the building at the Sharada Sadan. Thinking outside of the box, Ramabai hired a dozen tents and sent the whole establishment out into the open country 20 miles away. After receiving permission from the board of trustees that held the Sharada Sadan property, the famine girls were transferred from the tents to grass huts erected on the wasteland at the farm.

7. Mukti

In December 1897, Christians gathered at Kedgaon for a dedication service and to praise God for His goodness. The new settlement was called Mukti, salvation. Isaiah 60:18 provided the source. "Thou shalt call thy walls salvation and thy gates praise." Their large barn held the services, while the visitors camped out in grass huts. Plans were made for permanent buildings.

Ramabai returned to the United States (1898) to give a progress report. While there a new association supplanted the former and the land transferred to her personally.

In July, she visited England with the hope of forming an English Society. This did not occur. She visited the Keswick Convention. "My heart was filled with joy to see nearly 4,000 Christian people gathered together, seeking and finding the deep things of God. At that time the Lord led me to ask those present to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Indian Christians. Since that time God wanted me to pray and expect great things of Him. Then I read the accounts of the revival in Khassia and Jayantia Hills, and praised God for sending the revival wave so near us."¹⁶

Interpreting the scriptures literally, Ramabai began praying for healings, for herself and for others with serious maladies. "There are neither doctors nor medicines found in this village (Kedgaon); those girls who wish to resort to medical help in sickness are in no way hindered from it. They are taken to Poona, and proper medical treatment is given them. Yet it must be said to the glory of God that the large majority of girls seek God's help in their sickness. The Lord has wonderfully protected us from the dreadful plague and other sickness. The girls realize that divine help is better than human means. So when any one among them is sick, they get around her and begin to pray, and God answers their prayer beyond their hope and expectation."¹⁷

¹⁶ Pandita Ramabai. "More Surprises." *Mukti Prayer Bell*. October, 1905, 5-9.

¹⁷ "Pandita Ramabai, *The Story of Her Life*," 134, 135.

Another famine spread through India (1899 - 1900) with the state of Gujarat being most severely affected. Three of the older women, Gangabai, Kashibai, and Bhimabai, traveled hundred of miles on foot in their search for starving girl outcasts. Ramabai reported caring for 750 girls in her institutions. Her work continued to expand when requested to open a school for girls at Gulbarga (Hyderabad). This was placed under the supervision of Manorama.

8. Pentecostal Outpourings

With the continual inclusion of girls from different backgrounds, the three hundred and fifty Christian residents were "in danger of being submerged beneath a tidal wave of grossness and superstition." Manoramabai writes, "Many Hindu girls professed to be possessed by evil spirits, and all troubles and diseases were attributed to them. Every death that occurred in the school was thought by them to have been caused by the devil."¹⁸ An atmosphere of faith had to be created through the power of prayer. By December 1901, about 1,200 girls submitted themselves to the "yoke of Christ and entered His church." Then in 1903, Manoramabai and Miss Minnie Abrams were sent to Australia to study the movement of the Holy Spirit and new life-giving experiences. While there, they learned of the revival in Wales with moving and manifestations of the Holy Spirit.

As was her discipline, Pandita began her prayers around 4:00 a.m. She reported being led by the Lord to start a special prayer circle at the beginning of 1905. Seventy women met together each morning at 4:30 a.m. and prayed for the true conversion of all the Indian Christians, including themselves, and for a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all Christians of every land. The group grew to nearly 700 and the church building had to be used. "There were indications of God's Spirit doing His work silently, but surely."¹⁹ After six months of praying in this

¹⁸ Pandita Ramabai, Australasian Edition, p. 174 f. in Nicol Macnicol. *Builders of Modern India, Pandita Ramabai*, 1926, 114.

¹⁹ Pandita Ramabai. "More Surprises," *Mukti Bell*. October, 1905. A dream or vision of the descent of the Holy Spirit on Wednesday night, June 28, 1905 and multiple manifestations of the Holy Spirit are reported on Thursday, June 29, 1905 and "He has been working in great power ever since." *Mukti Bell*, September, 1906. In 2000 Ramabai's prayer list and translation sheets were available in her bedroom, now a museum (2000).

manner, "the Lord graciously sent a glorious Holy Ghost revival among us, and also in many schools and churches. The results of this have been most satisfactory."²⁰

Some girls reported a burning sensation accompanying the descent of the Holy Spirit. Others broke into a clamor of simultaneous prayer. While others experienced "speaking in unknown tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." It is not reported that Pandita spoke in unknown tongues in these meeting, but it is reported that on one occasion she was conscious of the Holy Spirit as a burning flame within her. Also once, when she was in prayer alone, she uttered by another volition than her own some sentences in Hebrew. In response to outsiders, Pandita responded that "Love, perfect divine love, is the only and most necessary sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. But other gifts, such as the power to heal, to speak with tongues, to prophesy, are not to be discarded. Indeed we should seek from God such gifts as will enable us to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ with power and draw men unto Him." "Not only did the wild girls from Gujarat yield to these gusts of ecstasy, but to even the calm-soul Manoramabai prayed for a long time aloud though the words were absolutely incomprehensible."

Changes among the girls included rebel wills subdued, undisciplined natures brought under a higher control, truthfulness, and gladness replaced that of sullenness and gloom. Prayer brought about "expelling slave vices," which often came out with loud cries. The purpose of the revival was the abandonment of evil practices and the experience of joy in the divine love and divine forgiveness. The outcome was hundreds of devoted, spirit-filled women, who had a love for God and His word.²¹

The Bible was one supreme book to Pandita. When she made an observation, frequently Ramabai would quote scriptures supporting the comment. She was troubled that the Marathi-speaking people did not

²⁰ "A Testimony of our Inexhaustible Treasure," in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*, 320 (reproduced from the booklet published by the Pandita Ramabai Mukti Mission, 11th edition, 1992).

²¹ "The Triumph of an Indian Widow, The Life of Pandita Ramabai." 1928, 114-123. Minnie F. Abrams. "How the Recent Revival Was Brought About in India." *The Latter Rain Evangel*, July, 1909, 6-12. Minnie F. Abrams. "The Battles of a Faith Missionary, Some of the Inner Conflicts at Mukti." *The Latter Rain Evangel*. March, 1910, 13-18. Minnie F. Abrams. "Brief History of the Latter Rain Revival of 1910." *Word and Work*. May, 1910. pp.138-141. Minnie F. Abrams, "The Object of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit." *The Latter Rain Evangel*, May, 1911, 8-11.

have the Bible in their vernacular that was free from the Sanskrit that contained many Hindu-laden words. So Pandita sought the assistance of Indians of the Beni-Israel community who had studied the Hebrew Scriptures. Not thinking that the chores were too much, she began to develop a lexicon in Marathi from the Greek and Hebrew. She supervised the translation with intelligence. Each volume was printed and bound by the women at Mukti. This Bible was not to be sold, because Pandita Ramabai felt she had freely received and now must freely give.

9. Conclusions

Recently certain historical revisionists have tried to disavow that Pandita Ramabai ever became a Christian. They point to her maintaining her birth name of Ramabai rather than the Christian name of Mary. It must be noted she did not refer to herself as Sarasvati, the Hindu goddess.²² When one reads her writing and those of her colleagues, there is no doubt she followed in the footprints of her beloved Lord Jesus Christ. When Pandita Ramabai designed the cornerstone of the granite church in Mukti, she took deliberate care to dedicate the building to Yahweh, not using a generic divine term for fear the holy space would be used to worship another god.

Ramabai Sings Magnificat - April 23rd, 1908 at Mukti, Kedgaon, India

"About forty years ago when I was a little girl, my parents visited Benares as pilgrims to get merit, for they thought they would save themselves, and us their children, by bathing in the Ganges, and by worshipping the idols in that place. As orthodox Brahmins, they most religiously avoided coming in contact with Christians and the Mlechchas, i.e. the foreigners, but one day in the providence of God, a Christian man came to see my father while we were at Benares. I do not remember whether he was an Indian or a European Christian, nor what he spoke to my father. But I remember two words which I heard him say while he was conversing with my father. The words were "Yeshu Khrista" i.e. Jesus Christ. He shook hands with my father when taking leave, and said

²² Frequently, Pandita Ramabai signed her letters to Sister Geraldine, Community of St. Mary the Virgin, as Mary Rama.

something which I do not remember. But I found myself repeating the two words "Yeshu Khrista" (Jesus Christ) which I heard from him, after he went away. I must have repeated them many times because my sister was much alarmed and drew my mother's attention to what I was whispering to myself. Mother asked me what it was that I had been repeating; but I was afraid to answer her question and kept silence. She warned me against repeating the name of the God of the Mlechchas, and told me not to bring His name to my lips again. But I never forgot that Name.

"About thirteen years after this, a Baptist missionary²³ living at Silchar, Assam, sent a little printed card to me by my husband. The card had these words on it: 'Incline your heart unto the Lord.' I read them and pondered over them in my heart. I had lived without God and without hope for many years. I felt as if there was a great emptiness within me, which needed to be filled, and no one but the God who was full of love and compassion for sinners would be able to fill it. I felt I needed His help and for the first time in my life I prayed to the Unknown God to incline our hearts unto Him."

"I did not know how to pray, but without my knowing it, the Holy Spirit converted the Words of the Scripture into a prayer in my heart, and God did answer that prayer in His appointed time, when it pleased Him to bring me into the light of the blessed Gospel."

"A few weeks after the incident, I found a little booklet, the Gospel of St. Luke in my room. I do not know who had brought it or left it there, but I began to read it and greatly liked the story told in it. About this time my husband introduced me to the missionary who some weeks before had sent the card to me. The missionary read the first chapter of Genesis and explained it to me. There was a wonderful attraction in the words which he read. My soul responded to the message of God's Holy Spirit. I resolved then without knowing the reason why, that I would become a Christian. Sixteen years after the time when I first heard the Name of Jesus Christ, I realized that "there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved."

"Some unknown friend, whose name is written in the Book of Life, made me acquainted with the Name at Benares and another unknown friend left a small Gospel in my room for me to read, that I might come

²³ Edited by A. B. Shah, (ed.), Sister Geraldine, (compiler), *The Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai* (Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, Bombay), 428, 429. The name of this Baptist missionary was Mr. Issac Allen whom Pandita Ramabai later met while she was in England.

to know the Son of God, 'Who loved me and gave Himself for me.' These dear people who are well known to God and whom I expect to meet soon in the presence of the King, sowed the seed, others watered, and God gave the increase and I was born into His Kingdom. How I thank God with a full heart today for sending His messengers in order to make Himself known to me. I realize more and more the wonderful power that is in the Name of Jesus and in the Word of God which converted me. It will be an encouragement to the dear children of God, who have toiled long in this country without seeing any visible fruit of their labours, to know that the Word-Seed, faithfully and prayerfully sown, does surely bear fruit."²⁴

10. Summary

Pandita Ramabai stands among the most esteemed Mothers of the Christian era. She laid the foundation for women's liberation in India. Pandita was a Sanskrit scholar, who extended her linguistic skills by developing a Marathi lexicon from the Greek and Hebrew. From this, Pandita translated and supervised the first Holy Bible in Marathi. Not one to perceive and ignore human needs and social injustices, she first championed the health and educational needs of Indian women. Her eloquent discourses reached India's social reformers as well as the court of Queen Victoria. Later, Pandita presented the desperate situation of child widows, destitute women, victims of famine and disease, orphans, and those with disabilities to church friends and societies in England, Australia, and the United States. While she accepted resources from all over the world, Pandita maintained a life of prayer and faith, which brought international credibility. She was able to capture and integrate the western and eastern hearts and minds.²⁵

²⁴ "The Word Seed," (1908) in *Pandita Ramabai Through Her Own Words*. (2000), 325-327.

²⁵ Rachael Nalder, "Miracles of Salvation, Healing, Provision and Protection. God's Wonderful Work through Pandita Ramabai," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (November, 1908), 7-12. Robert Eric Frykenberg. *Pandita Ramabai's America* (Grand Rapids: Michigan. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003).

A PROMINENT WOMAN IN EARLY KOREAN PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT: GUI-IM PARK (1912-1994)

Ig-Jin Kim

1. Introduction

The role of women in spiritual awakenings is generally acknowledged in Christianity. Accordingly, it is no wonder that we hear the phenomenal contributions of Pentecostal women in its early stages.¹ The Korean Pentecostal movement itself displayed such significant activities of women as well. In relation to women's role in Korean Pentecostalism, we can see certain features shown by both missionary introduction from outside and the religio-social background of Korea from inside. For the former feature, Miss Mary Rumsay, who entered Korea in 1928² as a woman missionary from America, became the first Pentecostal messenger to Korea. Following her, until the end of the Second World War (1945), only nine female Pentecostal missionaries entered Korea from the western world as independent missionaries.³ That Korea had long been recognized as a nation of shamanism and *Han*

¹ R.M. Riss, "women. Role of," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (DPCM)* ed. Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander, Grand Rapids, 1988/9ed., 1996, 893-899.

² Masakazu Suzuki, e-mail correspondence with Ig-Jin Kim (Feb.7, 2006). Suzuki, a lecturer at the Central Bible College in Tokyo, suggests that Mary's entry to Korea would be in 1930 rather than in 1928. He presents some reliable evidence. However, the Korea AOG takes this date 1928 from its traditional/official material "without original source." This study follows the Korean material.

³ Missionaries not sent by certain organizations. Nine of them had not been prepared by formal training, but all were known as called by God.

(resentment), both of which had to do mainly with women, is another feature. Woman's role in Korean Pentecostalism must have been correlated with this context.⁴

In such a context, Gui-Im Park (1912-1994) and the contemporary Ja-Sil Choe (1915-1989), the mother-in-law as well as the spiritual mother/partnership of Yonggi Cho, are the representatives of Korean Pentecostal women. While Choe has been known through her worldwide ministry and publications, Gui-Im Park was hardly known outside the Korean Assemblies of God and Jeolla Province, southwest Korea.⁵ Yeong Sam Choe outlined Park's ministry as this:

Gui-Im Park was a prominent woman minister who enthusiastically coped with her calling for the planting and spreading the Gospel of Christ in this land for 34 years. Her life and ministry reveal the feature of a female apostle that performed a part in modern Korean church history. She towers high at the center of the autogenous Pentecostal movement as an outstanding leader, conspicuous woman evangelist, successful shepherd and respected spiritual minister.⁶

Hence, it is worth studying Gui-Im Park as a prominent female leader in early Korean Pentecostalism. We honor her by comparing her to contemporary Pentecostal leaders and to the spiritual milieu of the period. First, we will briefly describe the development of Pentecostalism in/to Korea before Park in the first chapter. Then we will deal with her conversion and calling in chapter two and her ministry will be discussed

⁴ Ig-Jin Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism: Sunbogeun (Pure Gospel) Pentecostalism*, Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer (the Netherlands), 2003, pp.22-24, 113-114; Sang Chan Baek, *The Han and Korean Illness: Where We Stand and Where We Should Go*, Seoul, The Institute of Korean Social Pathology, 1993, pp.15-23. The "static Han" of Korean is different from the universal phenomenon of frustration-feeling or "conflict" of Western people. Baek defines it as certain accumulated dregs like fog, deep in Korean psychology, that was formed through continuous suppression on the fundamental human desire by socio-cultural structure. This *Han*, *Minjung* (grass-roots), women and shamanism are discussed by some modern Korean theologians because they believe that these elements are interwoven in functions.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 80-81, 116-120.

⁶ Yeong-Sam Choe, "A Giant for Pentecostal Movement, Gui-Im Park," 1, unpublished paper. n.d.

in chapter three. We will finish by discussing the theological meaning of her ministry in chapter four.

2. Pentecostalism in Korea before Gui-Im Park (1928-1947)

The introduction of Pentecostalism to Korea was later than to China (1907) and Japan (1907). There were two routes through which Pentecostalism was introduced into Korea. The first was by the women missionaries. Mary Rumsay and nine other women entered/visited Korea (1928-1940). A group of Korean elites who had been converted to Pentecostalism in Japan opened up another road to Korea for Pentecostalism. This second channel was again divided by two groups according to the two mission organizations that trained them in Japan. The America AOG missionary John Juergenson in Nagoya, Japan, produced Seong-San Park (1908-1956) and Bu-Geun Bae (1906-1970) who served as the main characters for the first Pentecostal movement along with the women missionaries in Korea (1932-1940). Another private Pentecostal missionary, Leonard W. Coote in Osaka, Japan, who was later known as belonging to Oneness Pentecostalism, trained Bong-Jo Gwak (1908-) and four other leaders.⁷ This group with Gwak played the main role for the second Pentecostal movement in Korea after the Second World War (1945-1953).

Mary Rumsay first came to Korea in 1928. Soon she won Mr. Hong Heo as her interpreter and co-worker. He was a member of the Central Salvation Army in Seoul and was converted to Pentecostalism by Rumsay. Then this team opened a congregation on the outskirts of Seoul in 1932. Around this time, Seong-San Park and Bu-Geun Bae came back from Japan. Other women missionaries arrived. Centering around Rumsay, Park, Bae and Heo, six congregations were founded in partnership with other women missionaries by 1938. In 1933, they formed an organization for fellowship, *Joseon* (Korea) Pentecostal Church. Because of Japanese imperialism, all the women missionaries were forced to leave Korea by 1940.⁸ These congregations scattered by

⁷ There was another leader Hong Heo (1907-1991). Pastor Heo worked with Seong-San Park and Bu-Geun Bae. Coote's students were Bong-Jo Gwak, Seong-Deok Yun (1894-1981), Seong-Hwan Kim (1916-1975), Gil-Yun Kim (1909-1968), and Heon-Geun Park (n.d. -1950). The last one became the first Korean Pentecostal martyr.

⁸ Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.* There were a total of 173 devoted members and several hundred children in six churches.

1942 due to losing their financial resources (missionaries) and imperial persecution. The organization was also dissolved.

A remarkable Korean Pentecostal congregation was established by Bong-Jo Gwak in Osaka, Japan in 1933. It grew to about 100 adults and an equal number of children. It lasted for one decade due to Japanese oppression. Gwak and his church as well as those who were trained by missionary Coote in Osaka played a decisive role in starting the second Pentecostal movement in Korea after World War II. This new movement, which broke out in the southwest province of Korea, Jeolla Namdo, occurred without any relationship with the previous first movement in Seoul. Gui-Im Park received Pentecostalism by way of this second movement which was directly related to Gwak's church (1947). Soon she became the main character of the movement in that province.

This connection with Gwak's line must have exerted an effect upon her role with Korean Pentecostalism in a different way from Ja-Sil Choe who was directly trained by American AOG missionaries in Seoul (1956-1958). After all, Choe's ministry was fully developed in line with the main Korean Pentecostalism coupled with Yonggi Cho while Park moved aside from the main movement after her separation from the Korea AOG (1977).

3. Gui-Im Park's Conversion and Calling (1912-1947)

3.1 Her Family Background

Gui-Im Park was born in 1912⁹ as the first of 9 children, seven girls and two boys, in the port city of Mokpo located southwest of South Korea. The Japanese imperial government (1910-1945) ruled over the country at this time. Her father ran a rice polishing mill together with a large farm. She finished four years of primary school. Her parents passed away when she was 35 years old and she had to take care of her younger siblings even though she had married already. Her only daughter Jeong-Ja Mun says: "Mother's parents heard the Gospel through the

⁹ The Korean Assemblies of God (KAOG), ed., *Korea Assemblies of God 30 Years History*, Seoul, 1981, 56, 74, 124-125; Yeong Sam Choe, *ibid.*, 1. Several facts on Gui-Im's biography of these two sources differ: the year of birth; the year of marriage; the first conversion etc. This study sometimes selects which one would better fit the context. Another point to be considered is that attending church and real conversion are different dimensions in the spiritual realm.

missionaries and sent their children to the church."¹⁰ Gui-Im attended the Sunday school when she was young. Her parents, especially her mother, remained a Buddhist until her "family" began to attend the Mokpo Holiness Church around 1930.¹¹ It is interesting to note that Pastor Seong-Bong Lee (1900-1965), who belonged to the Holiness denomination (cf. rebirth; sanctification; healing; second-coming), led this church in the period from 1931 to 1937. He became generally known as the greatest revivalist in Korea in the 1940s until his death. His revival meetings were characterized by physical healings and faith-evoking miracles through the Holy Spirit.¹² During his ministry in the Mokpo congregation, it experienced a notable revival.

It is possible that several members of her family, including two of her younger sisters, were blessed with living faith through his influence. Later they helped Gui-Im with her conversion. Strange as it may sound, Gui-Im could not have the opportunity to receive faith in God before she married Seong-Ho Mun in 1934. Her husband, who was engaged in trading-business was a non-Christian. She moved to his house in Nonsan, ca. 160 km. northeast in Chungcheong Province. She was 21 years old at that time. The next year she gave birth to her "only" daughter, Jeong-Ja Mun. It was a sign that Gui-Im Park was not entirely healthy around the time of Jeong-Ja's birth.

The family of Gui-Im Park especially rendered distinguished service to the Korean Pentecostal movement through their daughters. Compared to the seven prominent daughters in faith, only two younger brothers became believers. The first daughter Gui-Im, the second daughter Sun-

¹⁰ Jeong-Ja Mun, interview with the author in Gwangju (15.01.1998). She is the only child of Gui-Im Park.

¹¹ Jeong-Ja Mun, international telephone interview with the author (01.06.2006); Byeong-Kuk Kim, "Research Paper on an Elder Jeong-Rye Bag in Korea." 2004, 2. A paper submitted to Asia Pacific Theological Seminary as a part of a degree program; Yeong-Sam Choe, *ibid.*, 3. Byeong-Kuk Kim writes that Gui-Im's "family began to attend a church in Gwangju" when Jeong-Rye (5th younger sister of Gui-Im) was three years old (1929 or 1930). It seems that Kim made a mistake with the city. Gui-Im's parents lived in Mokpo and Lee took care of a Holiness church in Mokpo for 6 years (1931-1937), not in Gwangju at any time. According to Jeong-Ja Mun, Gui-Im's mother was a believer when Gui-Im was young. But "family" does not mean that all the family attended the church. Yeong-Sam Choe writes: "Six of Gui-Im's younger brothers and sisters who did not receive Jesus..." in 1947 when Gui-Im began to devote her life to preaching.

¹² Jin Hwan Kim, *The History of Korean Church Revival Movement*, (Seoul Book Publishing Company, 1993), 190.

Im,¹³ and the third daughter Sun-Deok¹⁴ all served the Lord as women evangelists and pastors. According to Byeong-Kuk Kim, the sixth daughter Jeong-Rye (1927-) was appointed by Jesus as an elder. She founded six congregations and looked after them during the pioneering stages for a given period of time. A number of miracles came about through her ministry. She “has been unknown to the world because God’s plan for her was to use her secretly.”¹⁵

3.2 Her Conversion through Healing Experience (1946)

After the first Pentecostal movement in Seoul was dissolved in 1942, God awoke a woman at the end of the southwest area in Mokpo city after the liberation from Japan.¹⁶ Gui-Im Park was saved at her parents’ house in 1946. There are two different versions about her conversion. According to the history of the Korea AOG, “she was chained in bed for four years since February 1940 by suffering of an outgrowth in her belly. During this time she was led to the Nonsan First Methodist Church by a daughter of her friend.”¹⁷ Then it further says that she deeply repented at a revival meeting and in May she was healed through the prayer of her third sister Sun-Deok. We prefer to follow two interviews with her daughter Jeong-Ja Mun. She introduced her mother’s life and healing experience as follows according to her memory:

When I was young, my mother was always in ill health. I began to attend the church from the lower grades at the primary school, but mother did not have any religion. On

¹³ She pioneered and pastored a congregation at Abhae Island, Sinan-Gun, Jeolla Namdo.

¹⁴ She became the first devoted Christian in this family. She helped Gui-Im in many ways.

¹⁵ Byeong-Kuk Kim, *ibid.*, 4-5 & *passim*. He says Jeong-Rye was cured from her fatal disease through Jesus. Even though nobody can deny her excellent service to God, further study is needed for Jeong-Rye. She has not been even recognized properly by the Korean AOG yet. One reason for this may be that she was not recognized by the denomination as a minister.

¹⁶ Jeong-Ja Mun, interview (01.06.2006). She does not remember which year her mother had the healing experience. She could only tell that the liberation was in her 4th grade and it happened when she was at 5th or 6th grade of the primary school. Considering other circumstances we can take 1946 as her conversion.

¹⁷ KAOG, *ibid.*, 124.

account of her own weakness, she used to visit Buddhist temple to offer a Buddhist mass or goes to the mountain to offer sacrifices to spirits. Mother’s health became worse. She was diagnosed as having a malignant ovarian tumor. She had other diseases as well. Because mother’s sisters were living in Mokpo, she was going to be operated there. At that time, such an operation had little possibility of success. I still remember how my father and I saw her off at the station with tears thinking it would be the last time with her.¹⁸

At her parents’ house in Mokpo, her younger sisters persuaded her to ask God to be healed rather than to be operated. The two sisters, Sun-Im and Sun-Deok, were enthusiastic “Pentecostals.”¹⁹ They and some other Spirit-filled saints had a worship meeting for Gui-Im everyday. They all repented in-depth and sought the filling of the Holy Spirit. They devoted their lives to intercessory prayer for Gui-Im with giving up eating and drinking. Gui-Im also fasted three days and prayed by her sisters’ help. Gui-Im herself told her experience of conversion and healing as this: “I took nothing for three days in the attic to pray and repent. On the fourth day, I felt my body becoming lighter and like afloat. But it was not only my feeling but my body was actually floating in the air.”²⁰ Her daughter told the same event in a slightly different way: “My mother could see all her sins. She repented thoroughly. In three days she felt as if she were afloat in the air and she was entirely healed”²¹

We can estimate through these testimonies that Gui-Im had an extraordinary healing experience. Not only was the painful lump in her abdomen gone, but she was filled with indescribable heavenly peace and joy that she never had before. She couldn’t restrain her burning desire to give this news to others. It is generally known that she began to minister God immediately. Jeong-Ja reported what her mother said at that time as: “Because God saved me I should serve Him.”²²

¹⁸ Yeong Sam Choe, *ibid.*, 1; Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006). Jeong-Ja cannot remember all the details but she confirmed that her mother did not attend church until she was healed.

¹⁹ Choe, *ibid.*, 2. They were not Pentecostal yet. They were following the Holiness faith. They did not know about baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues. But they were on fire in believing God.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* (15.01.1998).

²² *ibid.*

Yeong-Sam Choe claims that both healing and calling from God occurred simultaneously. Choe even mentioned God's endowment of the gift of healing concurrently with them. The KAOG source says that she prayed to be a minister to God.²³ But there is no direct quotation from Gui-Im herself about her calling and receiving this gift at that time.²⁴ She soon came back to her family in Nonsan. She was a new creature. She confessed her state of mind as this: "I could think hell in connection with heaven. My mind which had been like hell worn with diseases and overpowered by circumstances has been changed to a bright spirit which is looking up to heaven."²⁵

3.3 Her Training and Spirit Baptism with Calling (1946-1947)

She began to attend the Nonsan First Methodist Church. She had to wait and train herself for some time to prepare for the future ministry. Her zeal to serve God in the church surpassed others, her daughter said. She did not miss any opportunity for Bible teaching and prayer: attending daily morning prayer, various kinds of believers' gatherings, and revival meetings. In her leisure hours, she read the Bible. She volunteered to clean the church building everyday. Her life at this time was as follows:

All creatures looked like new. Not once or twice, looking at a grass on the roadside I held it in my hand and prayed with tears of thanksgiving to God as I felt the recondite dexterity and love of God on it. Reading the Bible, I used to be moved to tears when the phrases and passages inspired me as if I were reading my loving father's letter.²⁶

Considering the fact that Gui-Im was only able to attend four years of primary school, her ability of competent preaching in the future seemed to have been developed by her own faithful efforts in God's grace.

There is another event in this period that would strengthen her faith. It was the "fire baptism." Once she attended Seong-Bong Lee's revival meeting. There she experienced like "falling in a fire pot" through his prayer with laying on of hands. This experience reaffirmed her sense of

²³ KAOG, *ibid.*

²⁴ Choe, *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp.2-3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3

calling as an "apostle."²⁷ Nevertheless, she had to grow and wait for another baptism with the Holy Spirit.²⁸

At last, she was baptized in the Holy Spirit at a house meeting in 1947. We follow the route of Pentecostalism that reached Gui-Im Park. A Korean Mrs. Ja-Sin Park was converted at the Osaka Korean Pentecostal Church in Japan (Pastor Bong-Jo Gwak). She wrote to her mother-in-law (Bok-Deok Lee) in Haenam, Jeolla Namdo, and "constantly begged her to receive the Pentecostal faith until she finally accepted it."²⁹ Bok-Deok Lee, a faithful Presbyterian, having experienced the various gifts of the Spirit, started preaching about the miracles of the gifts. Many interested people followed her. Having been a wealthy lady and an influential person in the church, her circulation of Pentecostalism caused a disturbance. Then she and her followers were expelled from the Presbyterian Church. They continued exercising the gifts through house meetings. But the persecution of other churches increased and the movement began to decrease until the liberation from Japan in 1945.³⁰ But this latent fire began to kindle after the liberation. A lady called Mrs. Pyo from Mokpo, which is located in the same district with Haenam and home city of Gui-Im, was blessed at Lee's house meeting. Then Mrs. Pyo opened her own house meeting at her house in Mokpo. Gui-Im attended this meeting and received the baptism in the Holy Spirit in July 1947. Even though there is no reference if she spoke in tongues at this time, we estimate that she did because they said she spoke in tongues in her ministry in the following year.³¹

Gui-Im Park's receiving the Holy Spirit means that she arrived at the transitional stage of her calling. Her zeal for evangelization led her to bring the Gospel to her relatives and everybody that she met. She decided

²⁷ KAOG, *ibid.*

²⁸ This separation of healing experience, fire baptism, and baptism by the Holy Spirit falls under the reasoning of Pentecostal theology. It can be understood as gradual progress in the Christian faith, too.

²⁹ Jong-Ho Byeon, *The History of Korean Pentecostal Movement*, Seoul, Sinsaeng-Gwan, 1972, 98-100; Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, 80-81.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 100; Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, 81. We cannot locate the time when these happened. But considering the related situations, we assume that these series of events occurred around the latter part of the colonial period and the following time. "It seems that women's prayer meetings were more tolerated than organized ecclesiastical activities," writes Ig-Jin Kim.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

to evangelize her younger siblings who did not accept Jesus yet.³² The first person she aimed at was her brother and the first son of this family Yong-Deok Park (5th child) in Suncheon.³³ He took a leading position at the Suncheon railway station and his younger sister Jeong-Deok and her husband, who worked at the railway station as well, lived there, too. Gui-Im revealed her heart at this time:

I was too anxious to sit still at home. In the same way as the Samaritan woman who met Christ, whenever I opened my mouth, I couldn't help but saying "have faith in Jesus." My life was like what Paul writes in Romans 8:26: "And in the same way the Spirit also helps our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we should, but the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with groanings too deep for words." I should live according to what Paul here said.³⁴

Her daughter Jeong-Ja says that "her mother left the house to serve God and she did not come back home. My father and mother lived separately ever since. I only remember, my father visited mother once in a while."³⁵

4. Her Ministry (1948-1984)

This chapter will deal with two parts: her church-planting ministry (4.1) and her assistant and intercessory ministry (4.2).

4.1 Her Church-Planting Ministry (1948-1962)

During this period of one and a half decades her ministry reached the climax. She pioneered four congregations. Through exercising spiritual gifts she paved the second Pentecostal movement in Korea in the

³² Ibid., 3. Choe writes there were six younger siblings of Park (among 8 siblings) who did not accept Jesus in 1947. It means only three including herself were Christians. Others might have attended church without real conversion...nominal Christians (?).

³³ Remember, she was the first daughter of 9 children. Her parents passed away around that time and she as the oldest of a family had to think of her younger brothers and sisters, especially first son Yong-Deok.

³⁴ Choe, *ibid.*, 3-4.

³⁵ Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006). It seems that she was driven out of her ordinary household.

province of Jeolla Namdo area. Moreover, until the establishment of the denomination in April 1953, her ministry surpassed any other contemporary Pentecostals in Korea when we consider manifestations of various gifts in the Holy Spirit in connection with souls saved.³⁶

Let us look at the circumstances in which she served God in such a way. The freedom from Japan (15.8.1945) brought to Koreans freedom as well as a turbulent situation. "The first phase (1945-1950) was the period of jubilation, confusion and pain for Koreans."³⁷ The division of the north (occupied by Russian communism) and south (governed by American military administration) and the Korean War (1950-1953 - a fratricidal all-out war) characterized this time. Under such a situation, Pentecostalism awoke rather slowly. Old leaders, Seong-San Park, Hong Heo and Bu-Geun Bae were too deeply involved in earning their living to embark on a new work at once after the liberation. No foreign Pentecostal missionaries entered Korea until 1952. This was the time for rehabilitation of Pentecostalism by Koreans themselves through the channel of Korean Pentecostals from Japan. Geographically, a new movement might easily start in a rural province far from the turbulent capital city, Seoul. Two former students of Coote in Japan set about evangelization in Jeolla Namdo. Seong-Deok Yun, a man of principle and a teacher, started a congregation in May 1945 at a small farming village near Gwangju. He baptized 25 people in 1948 and founded two more congregations in that district. Seong-Hwan Kim, who had received spiritual gifts, founded a congregation in Mokpo (Gui-Im's hometown) in 1948 and three more congregations were founded by him in this region soon after the armistice in 1953. Other leaders began to evangelize with Pentecostal zeal around the time of the Korean War (1950). These male leaders worked hard. But the Pentecostal distinctiveness more greatly accompanied Gui-Im. Granting that the disorder in Korea at that time might have provided a favorable occasion for a Spirit-filled woman to serve God than a man, nonetheless, her ministry showed her distinguished calling by God.

In late autumn of 1947, Gui-Im Park went to Suncheon city to evangelize as well as to see his brother's safety under communist activities. She opened a house meeting³⁸ at her brother's house, an

³⁶ Among various gifts of the Spirit, Gui Im was especially endowed with gifts related to saving souls.

³⁷ Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, 14.

³⁸ Gui-Im and followers attended the Presbyterian church. She did not have any idea to start a church.

official residence of the railway station. Before long a Mrs. Yang, who was the wife of Presbyterian elder, received the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit. she won a Spirit-filled Having started with her kinsfolk and Mrs. Yang, this meeting was constantly growing. Signs and wonders by the Spirit like healings, speaking in tongues and revelation of hearts were manifested by her prayer. "It is reported that evil spirits were driven out; that diseases like paralysis, mental disease, heart disease, gastroenteric disorder, neurosis etc. were healed; and that guidance of the Spirit through visions or dreams was with her."³⁹ Such spiritual manifestations raised both reproach and attraction. Christians questioned that this group had neither denominational background nor an ordinary pastor. Finally, Gui-Im and her followers were excommunicated from the Central Presbyterian Church to which they belonged. It happened just as the room was too crowded to fit all attendants. Her mind was further convicted that her Pentecostal movement was following the truth after the Pentecostal thought of the Acts of the Apostles.

Then she decided to open a congregation at the center of the city. They rented a house and founded a congregation in March 1948. This Suncheon congregation was called *Suncheon Osunjeol Gyohoe* (Suncheon Pentecostal Church). This designation "*Osunjeol*" (Pentecostal) was used for an individual congregation for the first time in Korea.⁴⁰ In spring 1949, the congregation grew to about 200 adults and 150 children. In November 1949, she invited Heon-Geon Park, the former student of Coote in Japan, for the pastor of this church while she wanted to devote herself to visiting people and evangelizing.⁴¹ After one year, in April 1950, the first Korean Pentecostal Convention was held at this church. Then the second (May 1952) and the third (October 1952)

³⁹ Ibid., 82-83; Yeon-Hui Kim, interview with the author in Suncheon (17.01.1998). She, as an eye-witness, told how her mother Ae-Sun Park was healed of an incurable growth on her neck. When Gui-Im met her mother for the first time, she told her directly: "Your well-being is due to the grace of your father. You were taken ill because you bore a grudge against God." Her mother repented and was healed through Gui-Im's prayer. Her mother opened her room for the house meeting as well, she said.

⁴⁰ Yeong Sam Choe, 5. She saw the church signboard of the church in her dream. The title "Pentecostal" was already used for the designation of the organization and for the church in Japan, but not in Korea for an individual congregation yet.

⁴¹ Ibid.; Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, 83. There are two reasons that she invited him: first, even though she was accepted as an "evangelist pastor" she still thought the congregation needed a theologically trained pastor for a better organized church; second, her calling was more to an "apostolic" and evangelistic ministry.

were also hosted by this congregation. These events are significant for Gui-Im in relation to the Korean Pentecostal movement. First, these gatherings became the matrix from which the Korean Assemblies of God denomination (April 1953) was developed. Second, the main role of the Suncheon congregation, which was founded and nurtured by Gui-Im, implies that she contributed most to thrusting forward the second Pentecostal movement in Korea.⁴²

She suffered during the Korean War when the communists took over Suncheon. Her pastor Heon-Geun Park became the first martyr of Korean Pentecostals in September 1950.⁴³ For about one year she took care of the church by herself. In March 1952, she invited Bong-Jo Gwak, the former pastor of the Osaka Korean Pentecostal church in Japan, to be the pastor. As the battle line settled along the 38th parallel from April 1952, she left Suncheon in June of that year and founded a second congregation in the main city in Jeolla Province, Gwangju in October 1952 "as she was called to a more apostolic and evangelistic ministry."⁴⁴ Hindrances by the existing churches and residents followed. They accused her of heresy or weeping church. While she took the pastorate of this Gwangju church, she founded a third congregation in 1954 and at last the fourth in 1962 in a different part of this city. Her younger sisters, Sun-Deok and Jeong-Rye helped her. These congregations were well established until now and the Gwangju church became the largest congregation in the Jeolla province even to today.⁴⁵

⁴² Choe, *ibid.*, Other congregations founded by male Pentecostal leaders maintained their status quo; leading roles for organizational matters was naturally taken by male leader like Seong-San Park.

⁴³ Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, pp.85-86. He continued pastoring during their occupation. He was shot by communist soldiers.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.83.

⁴⁵ KAOG, *Denomination Yearbook*, 1997, 724ff. She took charge of the second and third churches together with Gwangju Church for one year and passed them to another pastors. Gwangju church had 14,158 adult members with 4-5 acres of ground in 1997 and the fourth one had 800 adult members in that year. The third one was transferred to the Presbyterian Church. The Suncheon congregation was split into two in 1957 according to the schism of the denomination but today both congregations are stable medium-sized congregations. Other congregations founded by Coote's students (from Japan) in Jeolla province have not grown into stabilized congregations except the *Jinwol* congregation, the first congregation Seong-Deok Yun established.

Another important ministry for her in this decade since 1953 was to lead revival meetings. Two or three times each month, she was invited by churches or families inter-denominationally. Most conservative Ye-Jang Presbyterian congregation also invited her. Having preached in Jeolla province mainly, she even took meetings in Chungcheong Province and Seoul. Jeong-Ryeol Park, who was a favorite of her and became the president of the denominational university of the Korea AOG, estimated that she was a prominent evangelist.⁴⁶

We describe her ministry during this period(1948-1962):

Many days she did not sleep in bed but stayed all night in the church to pray. She fasted very often (all the time). She was very annoyed with sick people, maybe because she herself tasted the deadly malady. Then there occurred miracles. Sometimes she brought and kept demon-possessed and sick people in the church for one or two months and prayed. When they are healed she sent them back.⁴⁷

Her daughter Jeong-Ja once attended her mother's revival meeting in Seoul and she remembered it as: "My mother used to be a mild lady but she preached awfully."⁴⁸ People called her *Wubak* which means "hail" because when she preached in an evangelistic meeting, her preaching fell on people as if it thundered or was like hailstorm pouring down on the attendants.⁴⁹ She did not write down her sermon before she preached. Her daughter heard her mother say: "It is difficult to preach if there is no anointing."⁵⁰ Sometimes she poured out God's word for several hours. Except the manifestations of gifts of tongues, prophecy, healings and expulsions of evil spirits, she especially exercised discernment to point

out hidden sins of people, which eventually led them to repent.⁵¹ Her preaching was like "piercing fire" which resulted in real changes in the lives of Korean-grass-roots. Jeong-Ja says her mother was purely burning with saving souls. Therefore, she always emphasized repentance. Her congregations got the reputation of "weeping churches." She often took meetings more than ten times a day.⁵² One eye-witness said: "Sometimes she danced during her preaching."⁵³

As a Korean woman, who had been abandoned herself to despair from the fatal disease in her ovary, being able to identify herself with the sufferings and hopelessness of Korean *Minjung* (grass-roots) in the bitter course of colonial oppression, postliberation confusion, the fratricidal all-out war and the poverty of the postwar life, she devoted herself to saving them by the love and power of God. Therefore, her ministry created a "movement" for the people through the solving of Korean *Han* (resentment). Healings and repentance with weeping/crying were the typical marks of *Han*-possessed Korean women. In this regard, "her influence was greater than that of Rumsey and Bok-Deok Lee but less than that of Ja-Sil Choe, the mother-in-law of Yonggi Cho."⁵⁴

Her ministry for organizational spheres discloses both positive and negative sides. In 1952, during the Korean War, first American missionary, Arthur B. Chestnut, was sent by the American A/G. Then leaders of both routes (Juergensen's students in Nagoya, Japan and Cootes students in Osaka, Japan), who had been preparing for forming an organization through conventions since 1950, decided to establish a denomination under Chestnut's leadership. Other congregations were set up in the meantime.⁵⁵ With the eight congregations and seven leaders the

⁴⁶ Jeong-Ryeol Park, interview with the author at Yoido Full Gospel Church (05.03.1996).

⁴⁷ Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006 & 15.01.1998). Some diseases were healed at once by her prayer, but more often people were healed through her constant prayer for one or two months.

⁴⁸ Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006).

⁴⁹ Choe., *ibid.*, p.4; Mun, *ibid.* (15.01.1998). This name was called by people who heard her sermon; Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, 87. Jeong-Ja said that this name was imparted to her mother in a dream.

⁵⁰ Mun, *ibid.* (15.01.1998).

⁵¹ Choe., *ibid.*, p.13; Jeong-Ja Mun, *ibid.* (15.01.1998 & 01.06.2006). "Sometimes people were afraid of my mother because she was aware of the secrets in their hearts."

⁵² Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006). Even her father told her: "Be careful..." (you may destroy yourself). She says that might be the reason that her mother was exhausted when she was over 70 years old.

⁵³ Hun-Ha Jo, interview with the author at Suncheon (16.01.1998).

⁵⁴ Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, pp.81, 160. She served the Lord until her death while Gui-Im began to rest after age 70.

⁵⁵ One in Seoul (1952 by Hong Heo), one in Busan (1952 by Seong-San Park), one in Dae-Gu (1952 by Bu-Geun Bae), one at Geoje Island (1953 by Gil-Yun Kim) after two from Gui-Im Park (1948 in Suncheon and 1952 in Gwangju), one at Jinwol (1945 by Seong-Deok Yun), and one at Mokpo (1948 by Seong-Hwan

Korea Assemblies of God was organized.⁵⁶ Gui-Im was the only woman participant. At the same time, her two congregations were the strongest of Korean Pentecostal churches at that time. The fourth convention by the Korea Pentecostal movement (KAOG) again was hosted by Gwangju church by Gui-Im in October 1953.⁵⁷

This formal organization, which included positive involvement of American missionaries, establishment of constitution and theological institute, did not well harmonize with her spiritual flavor, let alone with her background. Having done well with the missionaries and participated the denominational matters, she, nevertheless, began to settle her ministry centering around Jeolla province. When Hong Heo left the denomination in 1957 with six (seven) congregations, Gui-Im Park also sided with him.⁵⁸

4.2 Her Assistant and Intercessory Ministry (1963-1982)

A new Korean *Sunbogeum* (Full Gospel) Pentecostalism began to rise at the denominational seminary from 1956 by Ja-Sil Choe (with

Kim). It counted eight congregations; the two most flourishing were founded by Gui-Im Park.

⁵⁶ KAOG, *Minutes*. About ten more congregations but not yet established. Gil-Yun Kim was missing at the Inaugural General Meeting on April 8, 1953 at Yongsan-Gu, Seoul.

⁵⁷ Choe, 15. A large military tent was borrowed for this and it lasted for two nights and three days. More than 500 people were gathered. Missionary Chestnut preached. This Holy Spirit convention provided people from other denominations to experience spiritual gifts and to understand Pentecostalism more. The total man-days reached about 3,000. This meeting gave Korean Pentecostals more confidence in the Pentecostal faith.

⁵⁸ Ig-Jin Kim, *ibid.*, 104-109. The Korean AOG encountered three schisms (separations) in its early stage. The first separation was with Gwak who had been trained under Coote (cf. chap. 1) and he left the denomination in 1956. "His old associates from Japan, Seong-Deok Yun, Seong-Hwan Kim, and Gil-Yun Kim became estranged from the denomination little by little even though they remained." Gwak insisted he believed the doctrine of the Trinity, only baptized in the name of Jesus Christ according to Acts 2:38. Second one was with Hong Heo in 1957. He wanted to set up his own Korean denomination separating from the missionaries. Jeolla Province, where the second Pentecostal movement started, sided with these two separations. This group rejoined in 1972 to KAOG. Gui-Im followed her heart after this trend and her role in the denomination began to decrease until she left the denomination in 1977 following after her daughter.

triple prayer: tongues, overnight, and fasting) and Yonggi Cho. Having pioneered a tent church in 1958 in the suburbs of Seoul with various manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit and rapid church growth,⁵⁹ they moved into Seoul city in 1961. This church was called "Revival Center," supported by the American AOG.

While this sweeping movement rose in Seoul in combination with the Korean AOG and American AOG, the center of the second movement, Jeolla area, began to fall under this shadow. Gui-Im Park also began to degrade her role as a leading Pentecostal figure in Korea. She entrusted Gwangju church to her son-in-law, Pastor Seong-Suk Kang⁶⁰ in September 1963. The congregation was the size of 200-300 adult members at this time.⁶¹ Then she helped him as an assistant pastor. Her main ministry was to evangelize unbelievers, to take care of the church members and to lead the early morning prayer meeting.⁶² Jeong-Ja says, "Because Pastor Kang had studied at a different institute and his mind always sought the social ethics as well, his pastoral mode was different from Park's and he had difficulties during his 11 years' ministry."⁶³ In May 1974, Pastor Kang passed away. Then, her daughter Jeong-Ja, who studied also at the Full Gospel Theological Seminary (KAOG), took over as pastor for one year. Gui-Im also helped her daughter pastor during this period. After one year (1976), another Korean AOG pastor was invited to pastor this church.⁶⁴ For one year, Gui-Im and Jeong-Ja stayed together

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.134. In three years this congregation counted 300 adults and 350 Sunday school children.

⁶⁰ Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006). Having married Jeong-Ja in 1955, he studied theology at the Full Gospel Theological Seminary in the same class with Yonggi Cho from 1956-1958. After this, he further studied at the Hansin Seminary (more liberal Presbyterian denomination). After this, he took over the pastorate of his mother-in-law. Then he further studied at the graduate theological school of Yonsei University. He sought social righteousness in connection with his Pentecostal faith.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* She said that there were not many churches of this size in Gwangju at that time.

⁶² In Korea we have daily early morning prayer meetings from 4:30 to 6:00 a.m.

⁶³ Mun, *ibid.* Could this dissonance between Gui-Im and her son in law/pastor disturb God's anointing on her? It could be.

⁶⁴ Mun, *ibid.* (18.01.1998). For Jeong-Ja Mun, to be a pastor for that church was too much work for her as she had five children.

in this church under his leadership. But they were out of tune with him.⁶⁵ In the course of this period, there is no report of any outstanding manifestations of spiritual gifts.

Then Jeong-Ja began to help a small Gi-Jang Presbyterian church⁶⁶ grow in 1977. She left Gwangju church (KAOG). She moved to the Gi-Jang Presbyterian denomination as a pastor. Gui-Im followed her to this Gi-Jang church, which is called "Mudol." She left the Korean AOG and stayed in that denomination. In this Gi-Jang church, she again helped her daughter pastor and served the Lord with prayer and leading house cell groups until she reached 72 years old. Her role as a Pentecostal leader slowly subsided. She has hardly been heard in the Korean AOG since then.

Then she retired from her ministry in 1984. She constantly attended the early morning prayer meeting and read the Bible. She was exhausted through hard labor, and rested after her retirement. The last two years of her earthly life, she almost remained in bed and sometimes had headaches without any disease. On July 1, 1994, when her daughter Jeong-Ja came back from a visiting tour of her congregation she found her mother had been called to God as if she were just sleeping, with her old Bible opened beside her. Her daughter retired from her pastorate of the Mudol congregation since 1998. She attends this church to today and says: "I cannot do as my mother did. I think it is good to serve Him according to what we have received from Him."⁶⁷

5. Theological Meaning of Her Ministry

We are closing this study by appraising the theological meaning of Gui-Im Park's ministry in the Korean Pentecostal movement.

⁶⁵ Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006 & 15.01.1998). She did not say why they were disagreeable.

⁶⁶ Her son-in-law studied at the seminary of this denomination. Jeong-Ja did not give the reason why she moved to this denomination and this church. Her husband Kang once told her that at the AOG seminary he could not grasp what Christianity was but at this liberal denominational seminary he could learn Christianity. May this was the reason that she (maybe Gui-Im, too) recognized that the Korean Pentecostal denomination/church did not appropriately value the ethical side of Christianity?

⁶⁷ Mun, *ibid.* (01.06.2006).

First, her calling by God was clear. It is related to her healing experience from an incurable disease. The heartfelt intercession of her sisters and saints as well as her own thorough repentance through fasting were also a necessary means for this process of calling.

Second, as a woman, her ministry reveals the characteristics of apostolic-evangelistic ministry. Regarding this, she had a burning desire to save souls and delivered powerful messages, through which multitudes repented and were saved and their problems in life were solved by God's power.

Third, various gifts of the Spirit were manifested through her ministry: healings, prophecy, faith, speaking in tongues, effecting of miracles, the word of wisdom and discernment of spirits, etc. This fact provides evidence that spiritual gifts are fully available today.

Fourth, her calling and ministry were related to the context: connected with Korean *Han* during the hard time of Japanese imperialism, confusion after liberation, the Korean War, postwar poverty as well as disorder in the society – situation which especially provided favorable circumstances for mutual interaction with women. Gradual subsidence of her exercising spiritual gifts after her drift to the "liberal" Gi-Jang Presbyterian church can also be understood in the light of the mutual relation between the work of the Holy Spirit and the context (cf. Mark 6:1-6).

Fifth, God calls His servants according to His own purpose and gives corresponding gifts of the Spirit. Rumsay, male leaders of the first and second Pentecostal movements, Gui-Im Park, Jeong-Ja Mun and Ja-Sil Choe each fulfilled his or her calling through God-given grace according to the measure of faith.

Sixth, Acknowledging a regularity in God's calling for His certain offices for male only -- priests in the Old Testament and apostles of Christ -- there is no functional differences between gender in exercising spiritual gifts in the New Testament time.

Seventh, Pentecostal faith must be delivered further in horizontal dimension before God vertically pours His Spirit. Simply said, baptism with the Holy Spirit takes place when we preach/teach proper doctrine from the Scriptures. The truth that Spirit baptism, though it is given as a gift from God (Acts 2:38), premises the collaboration between human mission and divine work, calls Pentecostals' attention to contend for it.

Lastly, for her part, Gui-Im Park could fulfill her calling through devoting herself to God with her sincere decision to follow God. She learned the Bible, received training by the Spirit, gave up even family life and kept her life-long faithful prayer.

Gui-Im Park, who lived up to God's calling in the period of modern Korean afflictions through Pentecostal faith, demonstrates how God works through His servants whom He calls and equips according to His own will irrespective of gender.

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF KIYOMA YUMIYAMA
AND THE FOUNDATION OF JAPAN ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

Masakazu Suzuki

"Father" Juergensen instructed and gave courage to this man who could have stumbled and given up... He has carried great responsibility and has been a spiritual leader - a man chosen of God... Whatever the future holds, we earnestly pray that the God who raised up Moses and chose Joshua will do the same for us..."¹ - Marie Juergensen

1. Introduction

Kiyoma Yumiyama (1900-2002) was one of the Charter Members and leaders of Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan {Japan Assemblies of God: JAG}. He was the general superintendent of JAG for more than two decades (1949-1973) and the first president of Chuo Seisho **Gakko/Shingakko** [Central Bible **Institute/College**: CBI/CBC] in Tokyo, a position he held for more than four decades (1950-1992). He was not only a leader of JAG but also a mentor to most of the JAG ministers. Kiyoma Yumiyama was a special vessel that God chose for the development and growth of the Pentecostal Movement in Japan.

Yumiyama had come to one of Tokyo's Pentecostal churches, which was affiliated with American AG² around 1922. Since then for eighty

¹ Marie Juergensen, "Man Chosen of God." *The Pentecostal Evangel* (1 November 1970), 8.

² In this paper I will use the following names for the Assemblies of God denominations abroad, "American AG" for the General Council of the Assemblies of God, "British AG" for Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland, "PAOC" for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and "Australian AG" for Assemblies of God in Australia.

years he remained in Japan's Pentecostal circle and for more than sixty years he was in a leadership position. He was one of the few people who witnessed both the forming years of the American AG related churches in Japan before the war as well as the founding and growth of JAG after the war. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that Yumiyama himself was the history of the Assemblies of God ministry in Japan.

Yumiyama talked about his life history in lectures and interviews. We have several books commemorating Yumiyama, which are collections of essays by his former students and colleagues. However, he never wrote nor desired to write his own **autobiography**.³ There are many discrepancies in the details of his **accounts**.⁴ We, therefore, need to check them very carefully. I had the privilege of conducting two interviews with Yumiyama asking about the history of JAG.⁵ He was very open to my inquiries but at the same time he was reluctant to give detailed answers to some of my questions. His answers were sometimes very vague and could be taken in many different ways. He told me that the history of JAG is complicated and very difficult to explain. Another time he even told CBC students in his lectures that the pre-war JAG history is "a myth" and that some accounts of this history need **revisions**.⁶

Marie Juergensen, the first daughter of Carl F. Juergensen who came to Japan in 1913 at age 12, was the history teller of JAG. For Marie, the work of her own family and Yumiyama, their right hand man, was at the center of her JAG story. Therefore, the JAG history has some missing pieces, especially in the pre-war history because the stories were told from the position of "The C. F. Juergensen family and Yumiyama as the founders". JAG and American AG have accepted Marie's view on the

³ Akiei Ito, "Jifu no Hito" [Man of Self-Confidence], *Kiza Goushin: Ko Yumiyama Kiyoma-shi Omoide Bunshu* [Kneeling Down and Worshiping God: Recollections of the Late Rev. Kiyoma Yumiyama], (Tokyo: Chuo Seisho Shingakko, 2002), 33.

⁴ Some of the discrepancies are from his unconscious mistakes but I believe that Yumiyama was conscious of some of the discrepancies and intended to present them in that way.

⁵ Kiyoma Yumiyama, Interviews by the author, Komagome, Tokyo, 7 December 2000, 21 June 2001.

⁶ Yumiyama said that the pre-war JAG history is in "Karniyo Jidai" [the Period of Mythological Age]. Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbuli-shi kara Kataru" [Talking from the JAG History], Audio Tape, Chuo Seisho Shingakko, 22 September, 1992. (CBC Library)

history of JAG, as this quote from JAG 2006 *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* [2006 Christian Yearbook] shows:

In 1913, C. F. Juergensen came to Japan in order to evangelize, and with the cooperation of Japanese ministers, Kiyoma Yumiyama and others, he founded a denomination.⁷

Both the C. F. Juergensen family and Yumiyama have become legends within JAG, receiving respect and admiration. On the other hand, the work of M. L. Ryan and his group (1907-1910) were not even known within JAG until articles written by myself and Paul Tsuchido Shew appeared.⁸

The purpose of this paper is to present an objective view of the life and ministry of Yumiyama, hoping to reappraise his efforts as a JAG leader, in order to understand the burden which he carried alone, and to help his successors share that burden. By doing so, especially the post-war years, I tried to point out the characteristics of JAG during its foundation period and the role which Yumiyama had played. There have been three studies done previously on the life of Yumiyama. One was a lecture I gave, "Takinogawa Mission to Sono Shuhen" [Takinogawa Mission and Its Surroundings], another was the section on Yumiyama in Paul Tsuchido Shew's Ph.D. dissertation, and a third was Noriyuki Miyake's "Life and Ministry of Kiyoma Yumiyama".⁹

⁷ "Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan" [The Japan Assemblies of God], *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* [Christian Yearbook], (Tokyo: Kirisutokyo Shinbun-sha, 2006), 164. This and all following quotes from Japanese works are my own translation.

⁸ Masakazu Suzuki, "A New Look at the Pre-War History of the Japan Assemblies of God," *Asian Journal of the Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 4, Number 2 (July 2001): 239-267; Paul Tsuchido Shew, "A Forgotten History: Correcting the Historical Record of the Roots of Pentecostalism in Japan," *Asian Journal of the Pentecostal Studies*, Volume 5, Number 1 (July 2002): 23-49.

⁹ Masakazu Suzuki, "Takinogawa Mission to Sono Shuhen" [Takinogawa Mission and Its Surroundings], Paper presented at the Conference of the Japan Society for the Pentecostal Studies, April 20, 2002; Paul Tsuchido Shew, "History of the Early Pentecostal Movement in Japan: The Roots and Development of the Pre-War Pentecostal Movement in Japan (1907-1945)" (Ph. D. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2003), 189-195; Noriyuki Miyake, "Life and Ministry of Kiyoma Yumiyama," www.familyma.com/APS/APS/2003/APS/APS%2003/APS%2003%20papers/Miyake%20paper.htm.

2. Sketch of Life and Ministry of Kiyoma Yumiyama

2.1. Ehime

Kiyoma Yumiyama was born in the rural village of Ehime on Shikoku Island on August 10, 1900. His family was one of the distinguished clans of a village with a traditional Japanese Buddhist-Shintoist background. He was the third son of the family and he had five other siblings. He started to read the Bible around 1914 or 15, while he was a junior high school student. He had a Christian classmate who gave him a Japanese Bible and he bought an English Bible when a Bible peddler came to his village. Having lost four of his close relatives, death was a keen issue for him in his youth. Also, in seeing his ailing sister in 1917, he decided to attend a Congregational church in Imabari with his friend but he did not continue. After his sister died in January 1918, Yumiyama decided to become a Medical doctor.

2.1.1. Okayama

After graduating from junior high school, Yumiyama went to study at Okayama Igaku Senmon Gakko [Okayama Medical College] in Okayama. However, at college, Yumiyama was very depressed, trying to find the meaning of his life. Studying medicine did not give him peace. The desperate Yumiyama ran to a "Fukuin Dendokan" [Evangelical Mission Hall] alone on Sunday, June 10, 1920. The pastor of the church opened the Bible and showed him John 3:16 and Romans 6:23 and Yumiyama accepted Christ as his Savior.¹⁰ However, we do not know the details of either his personal or church life in Okayama. Yumiyama never talked about it. There were seven registered churches in Okayama in 1920.¹¹ However, from what Yumiyama mentioned, we cannot ascertain which church he attended. He could have gone to a Congregational, Episcopal, Holiness or some independent church there.

A year after accepting Christ, he quit medical college. He said he wanted to go to Tokyo to become a Christian minister. When he went back home to Ehime to tell his family of his decision "to stop going to Medical College and pursue the life of a Christian minister," he was disowned by his family because of his father's resulting anger. He might have had some other reason for his decision to come to Tokyo. His

¹⁰ Bokudo Yumiyama, "Watashi wa Naze Seisho wo Shinjiruka," *Nochi no Arue* [Latter Rain] (Nagoya), (January 1931), 5.

¹¹ 1921 *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Seisho Center, 1994, reprint), 139-141.

decision might have something to do with his marriage. The details of his marriage were never explained fully, but Yumiyama may have been married before coming to Tokyo, since he met his wife while he was studying at medical college.¹² His flight to Tokyo may have been with his new wife.

2.1.2. Tokyo

He decided to come to Tokyo in 1922. After arriving, he started a small mission Sunday school-like work near Ikebukuro. Since there is no mention of a part-time job, it seems he was supported by someone or some denomination.¹³ In 1922 or 1923, he was brought to a Pentecostal church at Fujimae in the Hongo District of Tokyo by a certain man who attended his mission. John Juergensen, an American AG missionary, was ministering at this church. Though at first shocked to see the different worship style, Yumiyama kept attending the church and later had a week of Pentecostal Bible study with other Japanese led by John and his wife Esther. During this week-long meeting of fasting and praying, Yumiyama received the Pentecostal experience and spoke in tongues.

...with seven other people, I, with the missionary couple, prayed, worshiped, opened the Bible and did other things. Then on the last day within myself a big wave from heaven came, which now we call the filling of the Holy Spirit... The Holy Spirit Himself filled me and I experienced that the Holy Spirit (let me) freely pray, speak, worship, cry, laugh, and roll -- and all are the work of God's Holy Sprit.¹⁴

¹² Yumiyama later revealed that his marriage was not an arranged one but a love marriage. Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Shu to Aimamieru Sonohi made" [Until the day I meet the Lord], *Hyakumannin no Fukuin* [Gospel to One Million People] (Tokyo), November 1995, 39.

¹³ Yumiyama mentioned that he belonged to a denomination and left to join the work of John Juergensen. See Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii-shi kara Kataru."

¹⁴ Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Nihon no Pentekosute Undo" [The Pentecostal Movement in Japan], *Gendai Shukyo* [Contemporary Religion] (Tokyo), (2001), 152.

The specific date of his Baptism in the Holy Spirit is not mentioned. Marie wrote it happened a few months after he started coming to John's meeting.¹⁵

Yumiyama started to work with John in 1923. John had a small Bible school and a printing shop. Already married, working with a missionary could have been preferable financially for Yumiyama at that time. John and Esther were his Bible teachers. Yumiyama said he was soon given a teaching position at John's school.¹⁶ Around this time, (September 1, 1923), the disastrous Great Kanto Earthquake destroyed a great part of Yokohama and Tokyo, killing thousands of people. Yumiyama and his wife were in Tokyo but, fortunately, both the Yumiyama's and the church at Fujimae were safe.

Carl F. Juergensen came back from his first furlough in April 1924 with his wife and two daughters. John and his father worked together and helped each other. However, when John opened a church in Akabane in 1924, he took Yoshimaro Namiki as his native worker and Yumiyama was to work mainly with the Carl F. Juergensen family.¹⁷ After his first furlough from 1927 to 1928, John decided to go to Nagoya and started a new ministry there. Yumiyama emphasized that his separation from John was a peaceful one.¹⁸

Carl started to work in the Takinogawa District of Tokyo after they came back in 1924, while keeping his old church at Fujimae in the Hongo District. After operating prolonged tent meetings, the Juergensens decided to erect the first Pentecostal building in Japan at Takinogawa in 1925. When the church building was erected there in October 1927, they called it Takinogawa Kyokai (Takinogawa Church) and it became the center of their ministry.

When Yumiyama came to Tokyo in 1922, he still had a desire to become a medical doctor and tried to transfer to a Medical College in Tokyo.

¹⁵ Marie Juergensen, "Heralding the Pentecostal Message in Japan," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (27 June 1931), 17.

¹⁶ Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Seirei no Nagare no Genten wo Kataru" [Talking about the Origin of the Flow of the Holy Spirit], Audio Tape, Kanto Kitouin, 9 June 1997. (CBC Library)

¹⁷ Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii no Shoki," Audio Tape, Chuo Seisho Shingakko, 5 May 1995 (CBC Library); Marie Juergensen, "Heralding the Pentecostal Message in Japan," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (27 June 1931), 17.

¹⁸ Yumiyama, "Seirei no Nagare no Genten wo Kataru."

I came to the conclusion that I wanted to do both Medical study and Evangelism, and finished the procedure to transfer to Jikei Medical College. But it was a deception and God did not allow me to do the two things at the same time.¹⁹

However, in starting his own ministry and later working with the Juergensens, his desire to study medicine was fading away. Having worked earnestly with the Juergensens since 1923, in 1926 or 1927, after attending a retreat hosted by Fujito Tsuge, a **Holiness/Pentecostal** minister he finally decided to dedicate himself to ministry. At the retreat, Yumiya received a vision of the bruised Christ.²⁰ His decision to become a full time minister may have caused a family crisis. But he was chosen to be the pastor of Takinogawa Church in November 1927. He received his ordination in March 1928.²¹

2.1.3. Visit to Korea

Having become an ordained pastor of Takinogawa Church, one would assume that Yumiya's life had become stable. But this is far from reality. Though no explanation of the cause of his departure remains, Yumiya quit the work at Takinogawa Church and left Tokyo around 1928 or 1929. It is told that he went to Korea. However, this visit is unclear and his explanation was often not cohesive. He was definitely away from Takinogawa Church by the spring of 1929 until his return to Tokyo in January, 1930.²²

Yumiya mentioned that he went to Korea to help in the founding of the Korean Assemblies of God. This made his Korea visit unclear.

It was in 1949. I went there for a year. Among the believers, there was a connection with Koreans. One of the British missionaries came to ask me to help organize the religious

¹⁹ Yumiya, "Shu", 3; Yumiya, "Nihon no Pentekosute Undo," 150.

²⁰ Yumiya, "Shu," 36.

²¹ None of Yumiya's credential papers by the churches affiliated with American AG has been found yet. We know neither the exact date nor the ordaining minister.

²² "Takinogawa Tenmaku Shukai-hou" [Report of Takinogawa Tent Meeting], *Nochi no Ame* (1 September, 1929), 6; Tsutomu Tokugi "Shinsho Kyokai no Omoide" [Memory of Shinsho Church], *Kendo 50 Shunen Kinenshi* [The 50th Anniversary of the Dedication of the Church Building], (Tokyo: Shinsho Kyokai, 1977), 21.

body. Therefore, I went to Korea, evangelized, and helped the founding of the Pentecostal Church.²³

The year 1949 has to be a mistake. It must be 1929 instead of 1949. Yumiya mentioned the name of Mary Rumsay in one of his lectures. Yumiya should have known about Rumsay; however, strangely, in the lecture he said incorrectly that Rumsay was from Britain.²⁴

It is clear that his visit to Korea had something to do with a family problem.

When Yumiya Sensei was young, he aimed to be a medical doctor. However, receiving the Gospel of Christ, he realized that to become an evangelist was his call and gave up becoming a doctor. This was very much of a shock to his wife, Fui, causing her to become sick, leave the three children to Yumiya and go back to her parents' home. However, with a fired vision of evangelism, he went to Korea to evangelize with his three little children. At the time, his first daughter Sachiko was seven, his second daughter Emiko was four and his son Aisaku was two... In the train, his son became suddenly sick and he died even after receiving a lot of care.²⁵

In this way, he went to Korea with his three children, as he has mentioned, and lost his two-year old son there.

There is a series of reports in letter form by "Yuumisei" of Korea in *Eien no Mitama* [Eternal Spirit], entitled "Chousen Dayori: Izukue" [Korea News: To Where?]. This happened to be the report of Yumiya's life in Korea.²⁶ The series started with the November 5, 1934 issue and ends with the August 1, 1936 issue. But the letters are dated from June 10, 1928 to October 10, 1928. The letters are a mixture of fiction and-actual reports. They are written in a rather poetical or

²³ Kiyoma Yumiya, "Oncho no Kiseki" [The Pass of Grace], *Shinri no Hono-o* [The Fire of the Truth], (Tokyo: Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 1989), 203-204.

²⁴ Kiyoma Yumiya, "Kenzen na Seisho Shinko to Seirei" [Sound Biblical Faith and the Holy Spirit], Audio Tape, Kanto Kitouin, July 1996. (CBC Library)

²⁵ Yutaka Koishi, "Tsurai, Tsurai Omoide" [Sad, Sad Memory], *Kiza Goushin*, 42.

²⁶ Yumiya, "Nihon Assenbulii-shi kara Kataru."

sentimental manner. Therefore, it is very difficult to discern the borderline between fiction and reality when reading them.

In those letters, Yumiyama suggested that he had had a terrible family problem, probably a marriage problem, and that he had been very discouraged but decided to stand up for God again. The readers who read them around 1934-1936 would have known what Yumiyama was trying to explain. However, for us, without some guidance, it is very difficult to discern the implications of the letters.²⁷ In those letters, we find no word mentioning Mary Rumsay or the Pentecostal Church in Korea. Should we completely deny the idea that Yumiyama helped Mary Rumsay? Reading *Chousen ni okeru Shukyo oyobi Kyoshi Ichiran* [The List of Religion and Ceremony in Korea]²⁸, I thought that there might be a chance that Rumsay needed some help from Yumiyama, as the following explains.

There were three categories of Christian churches in Korea when it was occupied by Japan; churches started by a foreigner, ones started by a Japanese and ones started by a Korean native. Chousen Kirisutokyo Gojunsetsu Kyokai [Korea Christianity Pentecostal Church: KCPC] was categorized as a Foreign Born Church by the government. Therefore, the founder must have been a foreigner. However, in the initial year of the church record in 1934, there were no missionaries registered, but only four native ministers. The government required the founder of a church to reside in Korea and to hold certain ministerial credentials.²⁹ From this information, we can reason that the founding of the Korean church could have been complicated.³⁰ Conceivably, Yumiyama could have been

asked to go to Korea to solve the problem. At this moment, I hold the view that at first Yumiyama went to Korea in 1928 or 1929 for his family problem.³¹ And he might have returned a second time to help Mary Rumsay with some paper work of KCPC in 1934.³²

3.2. Takinogawa, Tokyo

2.2 1. Back to Tokyo

After coming back from Korea, he asked some relatives in the countryside to raise his daughters and he came back to Tokyo alone.³³ Yumiyama returned to Tokyo in January 1930.³⁴ He started to help a satellite mission work of Takinogawa Church at Sendagaya, Tokyo in March 1930. At that time, Sennosuke Suzuki, a Holiness itinerant preacher, was the pastor of Takinogawa Church, but Yumiyama was reinstated as the pastor of the church in May 1930. The transition was aery quick and surprisingly smooth. It seems he was welcomed back by the Juergensens whole-heartedly. In a letter we read

Now before I close it is a joy to tell you that the Lord in His own wonderful way has sent us a native pastor for this flock. Our Bro. Yumiyama has taken the pastorate of this station since May... We ask you to pray for him especially! Pray that He may be strengthened, anointed and given much wisdom in leading many souls to the feet of Jesus.³⁵

³¹ Yumiyama's second daughter was born on 19 September 1924. Yumiyama mentioned that she was four when she went to Korea. Therefore, it is definite he went to Korea in 1928 or 1929. See Koishi.

³² Mary Rumsay most likely went to Korea from Japan in 1932. This also denies that Yumiyama went to Korea in 1928 or 1929 to help Rumsay. Mary Rumsay was in Japan from summer of 1928 to early 1932. See "Missionaries", *Trust* (Rochester, N. Y.), (July-August 1928): 2; "Missionaries", *Trust* (January-February, 1932), 2.

³³ Yumiyama's wife became sick and eventually she died in a hospital of heart disease in 1941. Yumiyama and his wife never got back together and he lived alone in Tokyo until his daughters came to live with him in the late 1930's. See Yumiyama, "Shu", 39.

³⁴ Takinogawa Kyokai Tsushin-bu [The Department of Correspondence of Takinogawa Church], "Takinogawa Kyokai Hou" [Takinogawa Church News], *Nochi no Ame* (1 February 1931), 8.

³⁵ C. F. Juergensen & Wife, Marie & Agnes Juergensen, Letter, June 1930, 2. (FPHC)

²⁷ The letter mentions that Yuummisei was stationed at Fuyo, Korea. If I fully accept the dates of these letters, Yumiyama was in Korea by early summer of 1928 and left Korea in October 1928. If he was in Korea only in 1928, we do not have any record of his activities in 1929.

²⁸ *Chousen ni okeru Shukyo oyobi Kyoshi Ichiran* [The List of Religion and Ceremony in Korea], (Seoul: Chousen Soutokufu Gakumukyoku, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941).

²⁹ "Fukyo Kisoku" [Regulation of Evangelism], 1934 *Chousen ni okeru Shukyo oyobi Kyoshi Ichiran*, 112-116.

³⁰ There were four American and no British missionaries in 1935 for Korean Christian Pentecostal Church. See 1935 *Chousen ni okeru Shukyo oyobi Kyoshi Ichiran*, 55, 58. The correspondence between Noel Perkin and Mary Rumsay also suggests this complication. See Noel Perkin, Letter to Mary C. Rumsay, 23 March 1939. (Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center: FPHC); Mary C. Rumsay, Letter to Noel Perkin, 12 May 1939. (FPHC)

2. 2. 2. Takinogawa Seirei Shingakuin [Takinogawa Holy Spirit Bible School]

In May 1930, Yumiyama started to live with Tokuji Tanaka to train him as a minister. After a revival at Takinogawa Church at the end of 1930, Yumiyama decided to re-open a Bible School at the church. He began to show his ability as a leader and teacher. He already had night classes in the fall of 1930 at the church and a day school was officially opened in January 1931.³⁶ This school should be recognized as the continuation of the school which John Juergensen was previously operating.³⁷ The name of the school which Yumiyama re-started was Takinogawa Seirei Shingakuin [Takinogawa Holy Spirit Bible School: THSBS]. When Yumiyama started the school on his own initiative, Marie and Agnes Juergensen were taking their second furlough.³⁸ Yumiyama became the principal of the school in May 1931. With the start of this Bible Training School in 1931, the work of Takinogawa Church expanded and they started to call the work "Takinogawa Mission" from 1934. THSBS had about a dozen graduates by 1941. Eventually, THSBS merged with other evangelical Bible schools in Japan, becoming Toa Shingakko [East Asia Seminary] in 1941, after THSC had joined Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan [The United Christ Church of Japan: UCCJ]. Then Yumiyama was appointed as a professor at the seminary.³⁹

Yumiyama did not receive any formal Biblical or ministerial training, except his study with John for a couple of years. His language ability in both English and German seemed to help him learn the Bible.⁴⁰

³⁶ Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Pentecost in the Land of the Rising Sun", *World Pentecost* (1971), 10. Presently CBC holds the view that the school was founded in 1930.

³⁷ Yumiyama was appointed to be the teacher of Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church in 1925, and the principal in 1931. See "The Resume of Kiyoma Yumiyama, the General Superintendent", "Monbudaijin Shuumukacho" [The Paper Addressed to the Religion Department at the Ministry of Education for the Founding of JAG], n.d. (CBC Library)

³⁸ Marie Juergensen, Letter, 31 March 1933. (FPHC)

³⁹ Toa Shingakko, "A Letter of Appointment by the president of Toa Shingakko," Yumiyama Collection, 11 April 1932. (CBC Archives)

⁴⁰ Howard Carter and Lester Sumrall visited Tokyo in 1936. Donald Gee visited in 1937. From these people Yumiyama was able to learn the up-to-date

He was a self-taught scholar. He even said that he had become a Christian reading the Bible.⁴¹ He did not develop his own theology but he could recognize what was being taught by other Pentecostals and was able to present the general Bible knowledge and Pentecostal theology to his students. Moreover, Yumiyama was interested in children's education also. He published *Hikari no Kodomo* [Child of Light] and started a kindergarten in 1937 at Takinogawa Church and it was operated until 1944.

2. 2. 3. Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai [Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church]

Yumiyama acted as the general secretary of Takinogawa Mission.⁴² Takinogawa Mission grew to be Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai [Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church: THSC] in 1938, separating from Nihon Seisho Kyokai [Japan Bible Church: JBC] which was the main church body of American AG missionaries. Marie Juergensen, Carl's daughter, and Yumiyama were two pillars of THSC.⁴³ After 1938, THSC was led by Yumiyama and Marie Juergensen and JBC was led by Norman Barth and Jun Murai. THSC joined UCCJ but JBC had split over theological and leadership problems before joining UCCJ in 1941.⁴⁴ Some JBC churches joined the UCCJ and some remained independent under Murai's *Iesu no Mitama Kyokai* [Spirit of Jesus Church]. When THSC joined UCCJ, Yumiyama changed the name of his church to Shinsho Church, since another Takinogawa Church was in UCCJ.

From 1930 to 1941, Yumiyama was busy as the pastor of Takinogawa Church, the principal of Takinogawa Seirei Shingakuin [Takinogawa Holy Spirit Bible School], the editor of both *Kodomo no Tomo* [Friend of Children] and *Eien no Mitama* [Eternal Spirit], the principal of Megumi Youchien [Grace Kindergarten], and the director of the denomination. He had the support of the C.F. Juergensens, but in

Pentecostal theology. Carter introduced to him Stanley Horton's book. See Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii-shi kara Kataru."

⁴¹ Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii-shi kara Kataru."

⁴² "Takinogawa Mission Tokubetsu Seikai Hou" [Takinogawa Mission Special Conference], *Nochi no Ame* (October 15, 1934), 2.

⁴³ John Juergensen remained in Japan Bible Church and he was a board member of this denomination, not belonging to Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church with his parents and sisters. "Nihon Seisho Kyokai," 1940 *Kirisutokyo Nenkan*, 123; "Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai," 1940 *Kirisutokyo Nenkan*, 124-125. No accounts which talk about this separation have been found.

⁴⁴ See Suzuki, "A New Look," 262-263.

1940, Carl F. Juergensen died in Karuizawa, Nagano. Marie, Agnes and their mother left Japan in 1941. Before they left, the property of Takinogawa Church was transferred to the Japanese congregation directed by Yumiyama in June 1941. Left without the Juergensens, Yumiyama now had to lead his flock alone.

2. 3. War Period

2. 3. 1. During the War

Yumiyama was the pastor of Shinsho Church throughout the war. Like all other Japanese churches, Shinsho Church had to face many difficulties. The only thing Yumiyama could do was to survive. Fortunately, he was not asked to go to the war front but like many other people, he was required to work in factories.⁴⁵ He was not persecuted by the government like some of the Holiness ministers. The Pentecostal Christians were so small in number that the government did not care about putting any special restriction over them. During the war, like most Japanese Christians, Yumiyama did not stand against militaristic Japan, with its Emperor-God. The Christian churches lost their members, left the cities or were sent to the battlefield. Some of the Pentecostal ministers went to the war and two of them were actually killed during the war.

During this period, one member reports that Shinsho Church's attendance went to below ten people.⁴⁶ But the 1943 *Nihon Kirisutokyodan Nenkan* [1943 The United Christ Church of Japan Yearbook] has the record that Shinsho Church had twenty people attending Sunday morning church services.⁴⁷ God protected Yumiyama, who was living there alone, and his church building, though much of Tokyo was burning.

⁴⁵ Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii no Shoki" [The Beginning of Japan Assemblies of God], Audio Tape, Chuo Seisho Shingakko, 9 May 1995. (CBC Library)

⁴⁶ Kazu Wada, "Watashi no Sukuwareta Koro" [Around The Time I Was Saved], *Kendo 50 shunen kinen-shi*, 25.

⁴⁷ 1943 *Nihon Kirisutokyodan Nenkan* [1943 The United Christ Church of Japan Yearbook], (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan, 1943), appendix 61.

2. 3. 2. After the War

Shinsho Church was one of the few church buildings that remained standing in Tokyo after the war. Marie Juergensen came back to Japan in 1948 and she joined the work of Yumiyama at Shinsho Church.

But it (the Shinsho Church building) too had boarded up windows. Forty window panes broke at one time when a bomb fell a block away! The once white walls are black-everything much in need of repair- the sight rather shocked me.⁴⁸

Yumiyama could immediately start evangelizing under occupied Japan, since the church building was sufficiently secured. In God's Providence, the war defeat and the policy of the American Occupation Forces helped Christian churches in Japan to grow. General McArthur was a great motivator the Christianization of Japan and he helped the former missionaries to come back to Japan quickly. Moreover, Christian GI's in the occupation forces encouraged the Japanese Christians.

2.4. The Foundation of Japan Assemblies of God

Yumiyama played one of the main roles in designing JAG. Seeing the past history of the Pentecostal denominations, it is clear that he wanted to establish a denomination, over which Japanese natives had full control.⁴⁹

... (pre-war) Missionaries had the mentality of being boss to the native workers. Therefore, before the war there were about sixty missionaries who had come to Japan but they could not establish a denominational body... I thank God that because missionaries who could cooperate with me with endurance came to Japan after the war, we could establish a denomination.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Marie Juergensen, Letter, 19 April 1948, 2. (FPHC)

⁴⁹ Before the war, Japan Pentecostal Church was operated completely by the missionaries and Japan Bible Church and Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church was the collaboration work of both missionaries and Japanese workers. Yumiyama abhorred the missionaries who used the natives, making themselves boss.

⁵⁰ Kiyoma Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii Kyodan no Shoki," Audio Tape, Chuo Seisho Shingakko, 24 May 1994. (CBC Library)

2.4. 1. Movement Toward the Organization of a Pentecostal Church

After the war some Japanese Pentecostal ministers started to dream about reorganizing a Pentecostal denomination in Japan. Two female ministers, Tsuru Nagashima and Kaneko Ohchi, became the catalysts of this work. They arranged the meeting between Hajime Kawasaki, one of the former JBC ministers and Yumiyama.⁵¹ At their first meeting, both Kawasaki and Yumiyama agreed on the idea of reorganizing Pentecostal Christians in Japan. They organized the first conference in April 1947. Yumiyama edited and published *Seirei no Akashi* [Witness of the Holy Spirit] in April 1947, reporting about this conference. This newspaper helped the old Pentecostal Christians have a new communication network. Yumiyama also sent a report of this first conference to *Pentecostal Evangel* in 1947.⁵² Organizing the Pentecostal Christians was not at all an easy task. Although they had a few conferences together, every time there were obstructions to unity.⁵³ They had worked for two years to organize a Pentecostal body but they needed to have one more push from outside in order to succeed.

After the war, American AG wanted to establish a strong Assemblies of God denomination in Japan. Jessie Wengler remained in Japan during the war as a hostage and after the war she was appointed to be the Field Director of American AG. The American AG began sending both veteran and new missionaries to Japan one after another. Therefore, the Japan Field was established soon, ready to help Japanese Pentecostal Christians any time. John Clement, a former British AG missionary, was sent by American AG to organize an Assemblies of God denomination and start a Bible school in Japan in 1949.⁵⁴ Finally, the January 1949 visit of Noel Perkin, Foreign Mission Secretary, and Gayle F. Lewis, Assistant

⁵¹ Hajime Kawasaki, *Kitakaze yo Okore: Jinsei 50 nen no Kaiko* [Come the North Wind: Recollection of 50 years of my life], (Tokyo: Megumi Fukuin Kirisuto Kyokai, 1992), 101-102; Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan Rekishi Hensan Iinkai [The History Compilation Committee of Japan Assemblies of God], *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete* [Standing on the Word, Guided by the Spirit], (Tokyo: Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 1999), 77-78.

⁵² Kiyoma Yumiyama, "The Glory of the Lord in Japan", *The Pentecostal Evangel* (21 June, 1947), 9.

⁵³ Kawasaki, one of the charter members of JAG, mentioned that in the forming days of JAG, Satan attacked them a few times, meaning there was some great turmoil among the Pentecostal ministers. See Kawasaki, 102-103.

⁵⁴ John J. Clement, Letter to Paul F. Klahr, 20 July 1961. (CBC Archives)

General Superintendent of American AG helped clear the way for the organization of an Assemblies of God denomination and by March everything was finally ready.⁵⁵ There was a wonderful unity of American AG missionaries, some pre-war THSC ministers and some pre-war JBC ministers.

2.4.2. The Founding of Japan Assemblies of God

The American AG missionaries and Japanese ministers met at Shinsho Church for the founding meeting of JAG on March 15, 1949. At this founding conference Yumiyama insisted that he become head of the new denomination as well as principal of the new Bible school which they were going to start. With neither money nor power, Yumiyama was chosen to be both the general superintendent of the denomination and the principal of the Bible school. This only happened because of his close relationship with Clement. Marie Juergensen pleaded for Yumiyama to step down and let Clement be the president of the Bible school; however, Yumiyama did not change his mind.⁵⁶ Clement accepted Yumiyama's desire and decided to support JAG and CBI as the Japan Field Director and the director of CBI. Yumiyama and Clement worked together and were liaisons to both the Japanese ministers and American AG missionaries.

2.4.3. Kiyoma Yumiyama and John Clement: Liaisons

Since Yumiyama and Clement were good friends from before the war, for Yumiyama it was great to have John Clement back in Japan representing American AG. Yumiyama and Clement met at Karuizawa in the summer of 1948 before the founding of JAG and it seems that they generally agreed on the idea of uniting the Pentecostal believers in Japan, dissolving the former denominational divisions and becoming one body. Yumiyama emphasized that this meeting with Clement was essential to the founding of JAG.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Perkin and Lewis stayed in Japan from January 22 to 26. They had conferences with their missionaries and another conference with the Japanese workers. They wanted to organize an Assemblies of God Council in Japan. See Gayle F. Lewis, "A Global Diary: Around the World for Christ in 75 Days!" *The Pentecostal Evangel* (18 May 1948), 6; Kawasaki, 103.

⁵⁶ Yumiyama insisted on becoming both the general superintendent and the president. See Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii no Shoki".

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Yumiyama called Clement "his other half".⁵⁸ He recalled their relationship:

He became my best helper. He strove hard to organize JAG. I respect him and I am proud he is a good sympathizer. He was very patient and humble. He always walked behind my steps and never tried to expose himself; therefore, it was very easy for me to do my job... I think this is one of the causes of the JAG's growth in its beginning years.⁵⁹

John Clement later wrote about his relationship with Yumiyama as follows.

In the summer of 1934, you may recall our walking together up Sunset Point, Karuizawa, when you said that you felt the Lord would have us together in Bible school work in Japan. Sixteen years later after World War II, it came to pass... There were days of sharing! We shared the administrative office together, shared in travel and sleeping accommodations, shared your 'obentos' and my sandwiches, and on one occasion we even shared a sermon which I began and you finished! That was how well we worked together... Our greatest joy, however, was to see the work grow through the united effort of nationals and missionaries working together. The first graduation was a real break-through.⁶⁰

2. 4. 4. Yumiyama as Principal of CBI and General Superintendent of JAG

Yumiyama re-opened Seirei Shingakuin at Shinsho Church in April 1949. In April 1950, Seirei Shingakuin moved to the Komagome Campus and it became Chuo Seisho Gakko (CBL/C), changing from a church sponsored school to a denominational school. In 1953, Yumiyama moved out of Shinsho Church, resigned from its pastorate position, and lived on the CBI campus. He started to work full time as the general

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii Kyodan no Shoki."

⁶⁰ John and Anne Clement, Letter to Yumiyama, 26 February 1974. (CBC Archives)

superintendent of JAG and the principal of CBI, as his responsibilities were demanding.⁶¹

These responsibilities required various kinds of work. When the school began, there were no Japanese textbooks. So Yumiyama had to make them and his orations were made into mimeographed copies. His teaching method was to read English texts and translate them into Japanese, while students took notes. However, he was remembered as a good teacher and respected by his students. He had an air that made the students revere him. Moreover, as the general superintendent of JAG, in addition to his everyday tasks, he was asked to preach every year at the annual conferences. He was also invited as a special evangelist to various churches and conventions. It seems there was no JAG church member who had not seen or heard him.

2. 4. 5. The Polity of Japan Assemblies of God

Yumiyama strongly felt that Japan did not need a loose fellowship but a centralized denominational body.⁶² From its beginning, JAG was a denomination and it gave their general superintendent strong authority.⁶³ Yumiyama wanted the Japanese to have strong control over the denomination, letting the missionaries help them. The Japan Field and the Foreign Division of American AG allowed this and supported Yumiyama and his JAG.

This report of the Japan Fields shows their view on the polity of JAG and the reason why they had decided to accept that polity:

Fortunately, there were some Assemblies of God missionaries with pre-war experience in Japan. The constitution which is now being used, and at present worked on for revision, was planned to avoid the more grave pitfalls into which some missions have fallen. For example, the Japanese body connected with three large evangelical

⁶¹ The Japan Field of American AG supported CBI and Yumiyama financially. "The orei for the General Superintendent of the Japan Assemblies of God be increased to ¥7,000 per month." (Underlining original) "1957", Annual Business Meetings of the Japan Filed Fellowship of the Assemblies of God: Decisions and Policies, JFF Papers, n.d. (CBC Archives). "Orei" means the money of appreciation in Japanese.

⁶² Kouichi Kitano, "Ajia ni okeru Assenbulii Kyodan no Kyokai Seido" [The Polity of the Assemblies Denominations in Asia], *Koudan* [Pulpit] (Tokyo), (1994), 3-13.

⁶³ Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii no Shoki."

missions has fallen... The basic cause for such action might be stated as an attempt to force an American-type democratic church organization upon the Japanese who are not prepared for it in their thinking... Some of the problems that occur in the churches out here are a result of the problems of "democracy" in the country itself.⁶⁴

JAG kept a very good relationship with American AG, which wanted to spread the Pentecostal message to Japan, responding to the requests of the Japan Field and JAG. They kept sending new missionaries and support to JAG.

2. 4. 6. Japan Assemblies of God, the Only Assemblies of God in Japan

After the war, not only American AG, but also Australian, Canadian, and British AG sent their missionaries to Japan. JAG cooperated with them and Yumiyaama was the one with whom they had to make a contact and ask for direction and support. JAG supplied them with native workers and the missionaries supplied the finance. In this way, JAG and AG missionaries started to successfully erect churches in the various regions of Japan. However, there was always friction and misunderstanding between the Japanese ministers and the missionaries. Therefore, Yumiyaama and Clement shared a very important role, especially uniting the ministry of JAG and American AG. After Clement went back, Leonard Nipper became the field director and he also kept a good relationship with Yumiyaama.⁶⁵

When an AG missionary came to Japan, Yumiyaama explained to them that he wanted to have one native AG denomination in Japan and emphasized that there should be no other AG denomination in Japan. Yumiyaama wanted other Assemblies of God to join JAG.⁶⁶ British AG first formed their own denomination but joined JAG in May 1956. However, they left Japan, leaving their work to JAG in 1965.⁶⁷ PAOC disagreed with Yumiyaama's idea of one AG denomination in Japan and

⁶⁴ "The Nature of the Organization of the Japan Assemblies of God," 1956, 1. (Emphasis original) (Assemblies of God World Mission: AGWM)

⁶⁵ Clement was the director of Japan Field from 1949 to 1957. Leonard Nipper succeeded him until 1961.

⁶⁶ Yumiyaama, "Nihon Assenbulii no Shoki."

⁶⁷ *Mikotaba ni Tachi*, 106,333.

took their missionaries out of Japan and sent them to Hong Kong in 1961.⁶⁸ Their withdrawal was rather abrupt.

Correspondence from G. R. Upton to Rev. K. Yumiyaama and Maynard Ketcham indicates that the Japan Assemblies of God had certain desires about limiting the role of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada within their indigenous work. It is clear that the Japan Assemblies of God had strong ties with the American Assemblies of God missionaries in their midst. Mutual agreement was reached in turning over the invested work of the Canadians to the Japanese and American Assemblies of God in Japan.⁶⁹

JAG has kept strong ties only with American AG. However from the point of view of PAOC, JAG was a combination of Japanese and American Assemblies of God.

2. 5. The Path to the Independence of Japan Assemblies of God

2. 5. 1. Stable Growth of Japan Assemblies of God

Until the Japanese churches became financially stable in 1970's, the JAG churches and its Bible School were financially and physically supported especially by American AG.⁷⁰ In other words, it was almost impossible for JAG to make evangelical efforts without the help of missionaries. Later American and other AG denominations all gave their assets to JAG. Therefore, JAG owes so much to the Pentecostal Christians abroad for its establishment and growth.

Up to the present the Bible School has been the property of FMD (the Field Mission Department), and officially the American Assemblies of God is operating it. The Board

⁶⁸ Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*, (Ontario, Canada: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), 342-343; Lila Skinner, "Therefore and... Teach", *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November 1961), 21.

⁶⁹ D. Louise Ford, "The Contribution of Canadian Missionaries to Pentecostalism in Japan: Teaching Notes," 18 November 2003, 10. (PAOC Archives)

⁷⁰ In 1952, 75 percent of JAG annual revenue and 89 percent of CBI annual revenue was supplied by support from abroad. In 1959, they decreased to 61 percent and 56 percent, and in 1964, 22 percent and 45 percent. See *Mikotaba ni Tachi*, 101, 103.

consisted of three missionaries and two nationals. In 1966, Mr. Ketcham indicated that once the JAG could carry the operation of the Bible School financially by at least 2/3, then negotiations could be started for an official transfer to the JAG. Now that this goal has been reached, the brethren requested that this matter be considered.⁷¹

Yumiyama insisted on keeping Japanese ministers in charge of JAG, and succeeded in doing so with the cooperation of American AG. As time passed, American AG also slowly gave their existing rights over to JAG. The Japan Field Fellowship Minutes of April 1970 give one such example:

It was moved that the chairman send a letter to Springfield stating that the Field Fellowship recommends that all responsibility of the administration of Central Bible Institute of Tokyo be given to the Japan Assemblies of God." Seconded and carried.⁷²

2. 5. 2. Evangelism done by Japan Assemblies of God

As the general superintendent of JAG, Yumiyama showed strong leadership. His idea was to start as many churches as possible in different parts of Japan. He wanted a church in each prefecture. He called it "parachute evangelization".⁷³ Many CBI/C graduates were sent with only minimal financial support to places where there were no Pentecostal churches and so no one to help them. Often missionaries were their patrons. Those young Japanese ministers were willing to sacrifice their lives to evangelize Japan. God's timing was great and many capable youths came to attend CBI/C after the war. They became ministers and were scattered all over Japan.

2. 5. 3. Yumiyama in Japanese Christendom

Pentecostals were treated as heretics for a long time among Christians in Japan, therefore, they had to live on the edges of Japanese

⁷¹ "Transfer the Bible School to the JAG," Special Combined Meeting of the Riji and JFF Executives, JFF Papers, September 1969. (CBC Archives) "Riji" means "board member(s)" in Japanese.

⁷² "Bible School Transfer", Japan Field Fellowship Annual Business Meeting, 31 March -4 April 1970, JFF Papers, 5. (CBC Archives).

⁷³ Yumiyama, "Nihon Assenbulii Kyodan no Shoki."

Christendom for a long time. Holiness leader, Juji Nakada (1870-1939), often attacked the Pentecostals from the pulpit.⁷⁴ Yumiyama recalled that Nakada called the Pentecostal "Seiyo Kitsune-tsuki" [one hypnotized by a fox].⁷⁵ Although the main line denominations did not pay much attention to the Pentecostals, Nakada's voice echoed strongly among Evangelical Christians in Japan for a long time. AG missionaries and JAG started work with other Evangelical Christians from the early 1950s; however, it took a long time for them to be fully accepted. In this way, sadly, Yumiyama was not appreciated in Japanese Christendom until the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement spread all over the world and its influence was inevitable and JAG had become one of the fastest growing denominations in Japan

For this reason, Yumiyama had no Japanese Christian teacher or mentor.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he could not find any close friends among Japanese Christians. He had the JAG denomination, his students and disciples, but he had no one with whom to share his burden. It was he who carried the great part of the burden of JAG and CBIIC. He had to stand alone for a long time in Japanese Christendom, receiving all kinds of criticism

2. 5. 4. Final Years of Ministry

From 1970 to 1971, Yumiyama traveled abroad and visited other Pentecostal churches and denominations. After visiting Europe, he went to the U. S. in Dallas, Texas to attend the 1970 World Pentecostal Conference. He traveled back to the U. S. to attend the 1971 Annual Conference of the General Council in Topeka, Kansas. Christians of the same faith welcomed Yumiyama wherever he went. American AG seemed to view Yumiyama as a good leader for JAG and gave him a chance to talk at the 1971 Annual Conference.

Yumiyama became the Pastor Emeritus of Shinsho Church in 1953. He received an Honorary Doctoral Degree from the University of Southern California (presently Vanguard University of Southern California) in 1971. He retired from the position of General Superintendent of JAG in 1973 and became the General Superintendent Emeritus. He retired as president of CBC in 1992 and became President

⁷⁴ "However, strangely, this person (Juji Nakada) hated the Pentecostals, and at each conference he attacked them at least once. Therefore, this denomination was sure that the Pentecostals were heretics." Kawasaki, 79-80.

⁷⁵ Kiyoma Yumiyama, Interview, conducted by the author, 7 December 2000.

⁷⁶ Yumiyama, "Kenzen."

Emeritus in 1993. As JAG grew and the Japanese Christian world shifted, his work came to be appreciated, and as a result he had the honor of receiving “Fukuin Kourou-sho” [The Distinguished Service for Gospel Award] set by Nihon Fukuin Shinkokai [Japan Gospel Federation] in 1994.

He remained a widower after his wife died in 1941 and he lived alone on the JAG/CBC compound in Komagome, Tokyo until his death.⁷⁷ He had two daughters and four grandchildren by 1995.⁷⁸ He ate with the students or his meals were brought to him by the students. Yumiyama and his students were close and many students enjoyed interacting with him.

He had often said that he would live until 130 but his wish did not come true. God took him suddenly on February 10, 2002 at the age of 101. The funeral was held at the CBC Chapel on 14 February and 400 people gathered, including his students, the leaders of the other Pentecostal denominations, and the representatives of Japan Evangelistic Association.

3. Conclusion

Yumiyama had the vision to establish an independent Pentecostal church in Japan. He expressed his motto in three words: Jishu Keizai [Self-Financed], Jishu Dendo [Self-Evangelism], and Jishu Seiji [Self-Governing] in 1951.⁷⁹ He was able to use all the resources which he could find for this purpose and he used them very wisely, especially in his ability to keep a good relationship with American AG, receiving as much help and support as possible, while winning Japan's independence from all foreign AG denominations. AG missionaries from abroad generously gave for the foundation of JAG.⁸⁰ Without them, the foundation of JAG could never have become solid and it was Yumiyama

⁷⁷ Yumiyama, “Shu,” 39.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ *Mikotoba ni Tachi*, 101.

⁸⁰ Yumiyama had several trump cards. First, only JAG, through Yumiyama, could give a letter of recommendation to the missionaries who wanted to receive a missionary visa from the Japanese government. Moreover, without Yumiyama's help, it was difficult for them to secure a native pastor. Therefore, it was very important for the missionaries to win Yumiyama's favor.

who helped integrate the energy and resources of both missionaries and Japanese ministers.

Yumiyama was a great leader, an excellent preacher, and a mentor. But more than anything else, he was a great coordinator who had wisdom and a sense of balance.⁸¹ These strengths were needed to run a Pentecostal denomination and a Bible school, and they must have made him and kept him in the leading position of both JAG and CBI/C. Uniting those strong-minded Pentecostal ministers without having a major split was not at all an easy task but Yumiyama had enough experience and the wisdom to handle them with God's mercy.

The footprints which Yumiyama left in the history of JAG are so big. No one can make them smaller. He had a vision and he pursued it with all his might and eventually his vision became a reality. Yumiyama was able to establish the foundation of JAG in the way he desired. And having established that foundation, he then showed the direction to follow.

⁸¹ Koichi Kitano, former President of CBC, also thinks that having a sense of balance and the ability to coordinate were some of Yumiyama's strong points. Koichi Kitano, Interview, conducted by the author, Komagome, Tokyo, 9 May 2006.

WILLIAM SEYMOUR AND AFRICAN PENTECOSTAL HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE CASE OF GHANA

Cephas N. Omenyo

1. Introduction

At the world Mission conference in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1910, Africa was not represented. Africa was not part of the Christendom and was thus not a key player in Christian missions. However, there had been major sustained missionary activities in Sub-Saharan Africa nearly a century earlier.

Why did these activities not result in making Africa (at least) a minor player in world Christianity? Why was Africa still seen as a mission field, and as a result African Christianity was still dependent on the North for its sustenance. During the celebration of the centennial of William J. Seymour, it is appropriate to trace his impact on not only Pentecostalism, but the historical development of African Christianity on which he made a significant impact.

2. The Church in contemporary Africa - a different picture

In recent times, much has been written about the paradigmatic shift of the center of gravity of Christianity from the North to the South, resulting in a majority of contemporary Christians living in Asia, South America and Africa, with Africa recording the fastest growth in church membership.¹

A significant trend in this shift is the fact that the growth is mainly found among Pentecostals and charismatics. Furthermore, invariably, the growth is either accompanied by or a resultant impact of the general Pentecostalization of Christianity, a phenomenon that knows no denominational barriers and thus cuts across all denominational barriers.¹ It has also been observed that mainline, historic churches that experience much growth have seen various charismatic renewal groups emerging and vigorously operating within them. Thus, the mainline churches in Ghana have been significantly impacted, to the extent that the ethos of some mainline congregations is akin to that of **Pentecostal/charismatic** churches.¹

3. Deficits of the 19th century Western missionary enterprise in Africa

The mainline churches are products of missionary bodies, which began effective and sustained evangelization in Ghana (formerly Gold Coast) in 1828, with the arrival of the Basel Mission which produced the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Subsequently, other western missionary societies followed, and gave birth to other mainline churches such as the Methodist, Catholic, Anglican, Evangelical Presbyterian and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. For all intents and purposes, the mainline churches during the immediate post-independence era were invariably complete replicas of their respective missionary societies. Thus, they imbibed the ethos of the western missionary bodies. The obvious problem that attended this way of transmission of Christianity, which did not take the African context into serious consideration, was lack of constructive dialogue with traditional cultures and **spiritualities**.⁴

Non-Western Religion, (Edinburgh: Orbis Books, 1995); "Facing the challenge: Africa in World Christianity in the 21st Century - A Vision of the African Christian Future", *Journal of African Christian Thought*, 1 (1998), 52-57.

² C.f. Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana*. Zoetermeer [The Netherlands]: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 291.

³ See A.O. Atiemo, *The Rise of the Charismatic Movement in the mainline Churches in Ghana*, (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1993), 24-66; Cephas Omenyo, "Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches: The case of the Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana", M.Phil thesis (Ghana: University of Ghana, 1994).

⁴ C.f. Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 69.

¹ See A.F. Walls, "Towards understanding of Africa's place in Christian history", in J.S. Pobee (ed.), *Religion in a pluralistic Society*, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1976), 180-189; "African Christianity in the History of Religions", *Studies in World Christianity* 2 (1996), 183-203; K. Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: Renewal of a*

The late professor Kofi Busia, an eminent Ghanaian Sociologist and a Methodist lay preacher, articulated this concern as follows:

Those who have been responsible for the propagation of the Christian gospel in other lands and cultures have not shown sufficient awareness of the need for an encounter between the Christian religion and the cosmology of the peoples outside European culture and traditions. It is this which has made Christianity either alien or superficial or both.⁵

Similarly, S.G. Williamson, who worked on 'a comparative study of the impact of Akan religion and the Christian faith,'⁶ corroborates Busia's assertion in view of the failure of western missionaries to address issues related to African primal worldview with its belief in spirits.⁷ Williamson observed the inability of the Western missionary enterprise (whose legacy was inherited by mainline churches) to emancipate Akans from the fear of witches and ghosts, belief in the sanctions of spirit-ancestors and the potency of traditional priests to support them in times of crises. Kwame Bediako, a contemporary Ghanaian theologian, articulates the problem of the mainline churches in Africa as follows:

If the Christian faith as it was transmitted failed to take serious account of the traditional beliefs held about 'gods many and lords many' ancestors, spirits and other spiritual agencies and their impact on human life, then it also failed to meet the Akan in his personally experienced religious need. Looked at from this perspective, missionary activity never amounted to a genuine encounter, and the Christian communities that have resulted have not really known how to relate to their traditional culture in terms other than those of denunciation or of separateness. Dialogue has been distinctively absent. ...The mission churches were...marked generally by their separateness from their cultures, rather than by their involvement in them. The Christian tradition as historically received through the missionary enterprise has, on the whole, been unable to sympathize with or relate to the spiritual realities of the traditional world-view. It is

unable to sympathize with or relate to the spiritual realities of the traditional world-view. It is not so much a case of an unwillingness to relate to these realities, as of not having learnt to do so.⁸

Consequently, Africans were unable to reconcile their worldview with the type of Christianity that they inherited and thereby the impact of mainline Christianity was dulled. Kwame Bediako's diagnosis of the inability of the mainline churches to dialogue with realities of the African context gives hope that if African churches 'learn to do so' they can scratch where the African is itching most. The African Christian's ability to do so has been largely found in the AICs and Pentecostalism.

4. Azusa and the emergence of Pentecostalism in Ghana

Around the period that the 1910 missionary conference was taking place, a major missionary activity had begun in Africa which was to be part of a major answer to the problem of African Christianity--the Azusa Street Revival had started in 1906. Among other things, the Azusa Street Revival was significant in many respects, such as: Firstly, It was second to none in terms of its reach and depth of its influence both in the US and abroad. This consequently led to the emergence of several centers of Pentecostalism in cities throughout the US. It thus produced many Pentecostal denominations including the Assemblies of God, which is of particular relevance to this paper.⁹

Secondly, and more significant for our discussion, is the unprecedented number of missionaries that the Azusa Street Revival produced. Within five months of the birth of this movement, thirty-eight missionaries had gone out from Azusa. In only two years it had spread to

⁸ Bediako, *Christianify in Africa*, 69.

⁹ Daniel E. Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit: a Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spiritualify* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), p. 34, C.M. Robeck, Jr. 'Azusa Street Revival' in Stanley Burges a.o. (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 33 who asserts that 'nearly every Pentecostal denomination in the United States traces its roots to some way or the other to the Apostolic Faith Mission in 312 Azusa Street'. The Assemblies of God Church initially began as a fellowship of Pentecostal ministers but later developed into the White American Pentecostal denomination.

⁵ K.A. Busia, "Has the Christian faith been adequately represented?", *International Review of Mission*, 50, (1963), 86-89.

⁶ S.G. Williams, *Akan Religion and the Christian Faith* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1965), 152-164.

⁷ Ibid.

over fifty nations world-wide...'" The nations include China, India, Japan, the Philippines, South Africa, the Middle East and Liberia. Cecil Mel Robeck, Jr., who has done an extensive work on the history of Azusa Street, in writing about the 'Azusa Street missionaries in Africa,' has noted that: 'By far the largest number of the first-time missionaries who went out in 1906 from the Azusa Street Mission went to Africa'¹¹ Liberia in West Africa was the destination of the very first batch of African-American Azusa missionaries. By January 1907 twelve African-Americans were serving in and around Monrovia, Liberia as **missionaries**.¹² This development could be the Christian variant of the thousands of African-Americans, mostly former slaves who availed themselves of the American Colonization Society's help to return them to Africa, the so-called "back to Africa" program. It is not known how many, if any at all, were products of the Azusa Street Revival.

One striking development is the claim by some of the Azusa missionaries that they had special ability to minister in the mother tongue of Liberians-the *Kru* language. For instance, Cecil Robeck, Jr. notes:

Lucy Farrow wrote back to the Azusa Street Mission that she had been able to communicate with the natives in the Kru language. The people in Los Angeles as well as Charles Parham believed that her tongue had been a genuine language. Whatever the case, she seems to have had a small but effective ministry among the Kru people, including a local king, in or near Johnsonville. Upon her return to the United States in mid 1907, Farrow claimed that twenty members of the Kru tribe had "received their Pentecost" while others had been "saved, sanctified, and healed," under her ministry. On two occasions, she claimed, the Lord had given her "the gift of the Kru language" and permitted her "to preach two sermons to the people in their own tongue." She bore witness to the fact that the "heathen" in Liberia had been baptized in the Spirit when they "spoke in English and some in other tongues."¹³

¹⁰ Iain MacRobert, 'The Black Roots of Pentecostalism' in Jan A.B. Jongeneel, a.o. (eds.), *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 77.

¹¹ Draft of an unpublished paper by C.M. Robeck, Jr. on 'Azusa Street Revival' n.p.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

If the case was indeed that, Lucy Farrow had a supernatural ability to speak the *Kru* language (*Xenolalia*) the development was very spectacular. And even if she learned the language, for her to be able to do so within five months or so, could still be seen as a special ability given to her by the Holy Spirit. The effectiveness of the Liberia mission lies in the fact that it was done through the medium of the mother tongue which is a pre-requisite to effective mission.

Be that as it may, it appears that the Liberian mission was an effective one which needs to be well researched and properly documented. It is sad to note that not much is known about the initial work done by the Azusa missionaries in the missionary history of Liberia. Robeck corroborates this fact by noting the following:

Sadly, the foundational work of Mrs. Hutchings, Lucy Farrow, and the Batman family, the Cooks, Lee, McKinney and the McCauleys have disappeared completely from all official histories of missions in Liberia. McCauley's mission was the first permanent Pentecostal congregation on the continent of Africa, and it may ultimately prove to be the source of the Pentecostal theology and experience that produced Prophet William Wade Harris and his millions-strong Harris church of the Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire). It was African-Americans, not whites, who established this congregation.¹⁴

Although Seymour never stepped on Ghanaian soil and none of his missionaries to Africa set foot in Ghana, one can trace the impact of Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival on Ghanaian Christianity in four main streams as discussed below.

4.1 The Prophet W. Wade Harris connection

The present writer associates himself with Robeck in conjecturing that Prophet William Wade Harris (1860-1929), himself a Kru man, probably had contacts with the Azusa missionaries who ministered to the Kru-speaking ethnic group of Liberia. This is mainly because there was no previously known Pentecostal presence in Liberia prior to the era of the Azusa missionaries. Although it is not impossible for an individual without a previous contact with Pentecostals to have the Pentecostal experience, it has been shown (as demonstrated below) that the Pentecostal experience "does not drop from heaven," but it is usually

¹⁴ Ibid. Emphasis mine.

experienced through contact of human agency. In light of this, one has always been watching out for a possible Pentecostal presence during Harris's time in Liberia; and, there is the need for further research on this issue.

Harris was the first prophet to minister in a typical Pentecostal style, as described by G.M. Haliburton as follows:

Harris claimed to be a prophet with all the special powers that God bestows on those He chooses. These powers enabled him to drive out demons and spirits, the enemies of God. He cured the sick in body and in mind by driving out the evil beings preying on them. Those who practiced black magic had to confess and repent or he made them mad. He had all the power of the fetish men and more: with his basin of holy water he put God's seal on those who repented and accepted baptism.¹⁵

Harris's ministry presented him as a Prophet who had the charisma and power to exorcise, perform spiritual healing and miracles by which he demonstrated God's power. He first worked in Ivory Coast where it is estimated that over one hundred thousand people were converted through his ministry. In Apolonia in the Western region of Ghana alone he is reported to have led over fifteen thousand people to Christ and over fifty-two villages were reported to have responded to his message. Casely-Hayford, an African scholar, described Harris' activities in the following words: "This is not a revival. It is Pentecost. Its orbit is worldwide...men, women and children are drawn as by irresistible power, ...It fills one with awe to hear some of these converts pray."¹⁶

The present writer has noted the following about Harris's ministry:

The legacy Harris has left for African Christianity is his clear understanding of the spiritual universe of Africa and the capacity he had to penetrate it. This ability, coupled with his commitment to freeing of the people he ministered to from the

power of evil spirits, made the gospel very relevant to the deeply felt needs and aspirations of people.¹⁷

Kwame Bediako regards Harris as:

A paradigm both of a non-Western and essentially primal apprehension of the Gospel and also of a settled self-consciousness as an African Christian uncluttered by Western missionary controls. Even though Prophet Harris has not been alone in demonstrating these qualities, it seems that he exemplifies them to a very high degree.¹⁸

Although Harris did not found any church but collaborated with the Western missionaries, some of his followers started their own independent churches known as African Independent Churches (AICs)¹⁹ which are generally acknowledged by scholars as the authentic African expression of the Christian faith. They are generally acknowledged as movements that seek to renew African Christianity and make it more relevant to the African context.²⁰

4.2. The Apostolic Faith connection

The root of Classical Pentecostalism in Ghana is traced to Mr. Anim, the founder, who was later known as Apostle Anim, generally regarded as the Father of Classical Pentecostalism in Ghana. Apostle Anim subscribed to copies of "The Apostolic Faith" published by "The Apostolic Faith" ministry based in Portland, Oregon, USA. The Apostolic Faith was founded by Florence Louise Crawford in 1907. Crawford was an associate of Seymour's Azusa Street movement but broke away after Seymour married. One significant thing Crawford did was, when leaving she took away Seymour's mailing list without his knowledge, thus making Seymour unable to contact his numerous followers, which was the main nerve centre for his ministry.

¹⁷ Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, 69.

¹⁸ Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 91-92.

¹⁹ The acronym AIC could represent African Independent Churches; African Instituted Churches; African Indigenous Churches and African Initiative in Christianity. These are churches, which have been "...founded in Africa by Africans primarily for Africans" (see H.W. Turner, 'A typology of African Religious Movements', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 1 (1967), 1.

²⁰ See Cephas Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, 4, for references to such scholarly works.

¹⁵ Kofi Asare Opoku, 'A Brief History of Independent Church Movements in Ghana since 1862' in *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana* (Accra: Asempa Publishing, 1990), 16.

¹⁶ Cited by H.W. Debrunner, *History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967), 271.

The Apostolic Faith magazine was an answer to Anim's search for a deeper understanding of the Holy Spirit. This was his testimony after reading the teachings of the magazine: 'I was faced with the necessity of contending for a deeper faith and greater spiritual power than what my primary religious experience was able to afford, and I began to seek with such trepidation to know more about the Holy Ghost.'²¹ In spite of the seeming opposition from some of his leaders on the issue of Holy Spirit baptism as taught by the magazine, Anim declared as follows:

This doctrine brought about the total exclusion from the Faith Tabernacle and the First Century Gospel in that they were entirely unacquainted with the operations of the Holy Spirit, not only did they not know but would not have anything to do with the teachings as recorded in 1 Cor. 12:1-12, 28-31.²²

Under the influence of *The Apostolic Faith* from which Anim taught his group, they experienced the Holy Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues in 1927, five years prior to the advent of the first European Pentecostal missionary (September 1932).²³ This is even referred to as the 'Dispensation of the Holy Spirit in Ghana.'²⁴

Later, Anim's movement sought assistance from the Apostolic Church in the U.K., which is another offspring of Seymour's Azusa Street movement. The Apostolic Church in response appointed Mr. and Mrs. McKeown to Ghana in 1937 to assist Anim. Mr. and Mrs. McKeown's ministry in Ghana led to the formation of three major Classical Pentecostal Churches in Ghana, namely, The Christ Apostolic Church, The Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost.²⁵

4.3. The Assemblies of God connection.

In 1931, the first Pentecostal missionaries to Ghana, Rev. Lloyd and Margaret Shirer, who were missionaries in the present Burkina Faso,

²¹ See E.K. Larbi, *Pentecostalism: Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, (Accra: Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, 2001), 103.

²² Ibid.

²³ See Abamfo O. Atiemo, *The Rise of Charismatic Movements in the mainline Churches in Ghana* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1993), 20-21.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See Robert W. Whyllie, 'Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: Peter Anim and James McKeown', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 6 (1994), 109-22; Chapters 5-9 of E.K. Larbi's, *Pentecostalism: Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*.

crossed over to the northern region of Ghana where they began mission work on the ticket of the Assemblies of God Church, US.²⁶ They endeared themselves so much to the people of the north that Shirer was honored as a chief.²⁷

4.4. The Four Square Gospel Church connection.

The latest connection of Ghanaian Pentecostalism to Azusa is the Four Square Gospel Church, also a direct product of the Azusa Revival, which appeared in Ghana in the 1980s and is in fact a minority Pentecostal church.

5. The spread of Pentecostalism in Africa/Ghana

It has been observed that Pentecostalism does not 'drop from heaven' per se. It spreads through the contact of persons, churches, organizations, magazines, etc. We shall thus employ the sociological theory-'Diffusion of innovation theory' to discuss the dynamics of the spread of Pentecostalism. There are three crucial elements which are pertinent concepts of this theoretical frame of reference which are noted in any diffusion of innovation analysis.²⁸ They are: the Innovation itself; its diffusion (communication) through certain channels; and members of a social system among whom it is communicated. It seems necessary here to define the three elements of the diffusion of an innovation analysis.

An innovation is an idea, practice, or object perceived as new by the individual or a group of individuals who adopt it. The important point in this connection is that, the idea, practice, or object is perceived as new by the adopters. It matters little whether or not it is 'objectively' new as measured by the length of time since its first use or discovery. It is the 'perceived newness' for the individual or group of individuals that determines his/her or their reaction. In this paper, the Pentecostal gifts and manifestations are perceived as new by believers who experience them.

²⁶ *Assemblies of God, Ghana 1931-1981* (Accra: Assemblies of God Church, 1981), 3.

²⁷ See H.W. Debrunner, *History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967), 324.

²⁸ See Evaret M. Rogers & R.J. Burdge, *Social Change in Rural Societies* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1972), 352.

Three main characteristics of innovation are worth mentioning here: relative advantage, compatibility and observability.²⁹

- i. Relative advantage is the extent to which an innovation is perceived as better than the ideas it seeks to supersede. What matters is whether or not the individual perceives the innovation as being advantageous. The greater the perceived advantage of an innovation, the quicker its rate of adoption. In this paper, the rate at which individuals join the Pentecostal churches is determined by the degree to which the ethos of the churches is perceived to be better than what they had known in the past.
- ii. Compatibility is the extent to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with existing values, past experiences, and needs of the receivers. The compatibility of an idea thus determines the rate of its adoption. For example, if the ethos of the Pentecostal church is perceived as consistent with the culture and goals of a people and their existential needs it will be embraced more quickly than where it is inconsistent.
- iii. Observability is the extent to which the results of an innovation are visible to the receiver and to others. The easier it is for a group of individuals to observe the results of an innovation, the more likely they are to adopt it. For example, the changes people see in the lives of Pentecostals, and the sort of testimonies that they give about the results of prayer, deliverance, and spiritual gifts manifested by members of the tradition determine the rate at which others join Pentecostal churches.

Diffusion (communication) is the process by which a new idea (innovation) is spread from its source or from one place to its ultimate users or adopters. A pre-condition for the **diffusion** process is human interaction in which one person communicates a new idea to another person or several others. Simply put, diffusion occurs when there is a new idea, and an individual who is conversant with the innovation

²⁹ Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovation* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 312.

communicates it to another individual who is not yet aware of the new idea by means of a communication channel connecting the two.

Everett Rogers defines a social system as used in a diffusion theory as 'a population of individuals who are functionally differentiated and engaged in collective problem-solving behavior. The members of a social system are individuals, although these individuals may represent informal groups, industrial firms or schools.'³⁰ For example, a social system in this sense may be the people in a geographical area or members of a church.

The spread of Pentecostalism and its related problems can be explained in the light of the theory of **diffusion** of innovation. In the first place, members of the Pentecostal churches perceive the charismata innovation. In other words, the way the groups pray, the stress they put on gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as gifts of speaking in tongues, healing and the general spontaneity that characterizes the meetings, are perceived as new in Africa. Hence, the Pentecostal churches are seen as innovation. The three main characteristics of innovation are found in the way Pentecostal churches function. Members perceive the fact that it is advantageous to belong to the churches in the sense that they find some fulfillment, particularly, in the areas of healing and spiritual renewal activities, and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, which give renewed confidence and faith in God.

Through their testimonies, Pentecostals try to let others see the effect of the activities and programs on their lives. With the three main characteristics of innovation (i.e. compatibility, relative advantage, and observability) satisfied by the activities of Pentecostal churches, they can be described as innovation in their respective churches.

The Spread (diffusion) of Pentecostalism also illustrates the basic pre-condition of **diffusion** process, which is: 'the human interaction in which one person communicates a new idea to another person or several others'. All Pentecostal churches started as a result of the founder or **leader(s)** interacting with a Pentecostal, a Pentecostal prayer group or a Pentecostal church. The theory of **diffusion** aptly describes the way the Pentecostal church spreads. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the theory is not absolute: God in his sovereignty can cause a person or a group of persons to experience Pentecost without prior interaction with a Pentecostal group.

³⁰ Cited by K. Nyamekye Bame, 'Contemporary Cosmic Plays in Ghana: A study of Innovation and Diffusion and the Social Functions of an Art-Form', M.A. thesis (Ontario, 1969), 5-6.

Part of the attractiveness of Pentecostalism in Africa is due to its response to African spirituality. In other words, the Pentecostal movement finds fertile ground in Africa because most of its practices take the African worldview seriously. As the diffusion of innovation has demonstrated, the Pentecostal experience is compatible and observable and has relative advantage for most Africans. Therefore, it will continue to be popular and spread among them.

6. Significance of Seymour for Africa and world Christianity

Although W.J. Seymour never touched the soils of Africa, he indirectly influenced Ghanaian Christianity through the various missionary agencies that drew their inspiration from the Azusa Revival.

History has vindicated the vision for missions which characterized the Azusa Revival by the establishment of Azusa Revival's kind of churches in Africa, Ghana in particular. Today, nearly 25% of Ghana's Christians are Pentecostals.³¹ Pentecostalism and the variant charismatic movement form the fastest growing Christian movement in Ghana. Pentecostals are increasingly setting agendas for serious theological discourse in Ghana. This is mainly because the attractiveness of Pentecostalism lies in the fact that it is perceived by many to have been successful in appropriating biblical resources to meet the pressing needs of Africans.

The emergence of the AICs and Pentecostalism has brought to light the realization among Africans that it is possible for Africans to express themselves as Christians without losing their African identity. This has enabled Christianity to sink its roots deep in African soil.

The Azusa Street Revival highlights aspects of black origins of Pentecostalism. According to Iain MacRobert, "The particular attraction of Pentecostalism in non-western societies lies in its black experiential roots which provide a substratum of enduring values and themes for the bulk of the Movement outside of white North America and Europe."³² MacRobert, observes that Pentecostalism has largely been colored by a distinctively black culture thus producing a black form of

Christianity.³³ He quotes Albert J. Raboteau to support his assertion as follows:

Shaped and modified by a new environment, elements of African folklore, music, language, and religion were transplanted to the New World by the African Diaspora...One of the most durable and adaptable constituents of the slave's culture, linking African past with American present, was his religion. It is important to realize however, that in America the religions of Africa have not been merely preserved as static "Africanisms" or as archaic "retentions"... African styles of worship, forms of rituals, systems of belief, and fundamental perspectives have remained vital on this side of the Atlantic, not because they were preserved in a "pure" orthodoxy but because they were transformed. Adaptability, based upon respect for spiritual power wherever it originated, accounted for the openness of African religions to syncretism with other religious traditions and for the continuity of a distinctively African religious consciousness.³⁴

The observations by MacRobert and Raboteau make a lot of sense considering the fact that Africans are easily amenable to Pentecostalism. Africans saw themselves and their culture in features of the Pentecostal movement. The fact that Pentecostalism, which has been partly colored by African spirituality, is determining the agenda for African and indeed world Christianity is a pointer to the fact that Seymour is relevant in African and indeed world Christian historiography. In other words, Seymour has a say in determining the shape of African and world Christianity in the 21st century.

A characteristic feature of the Azusa movement was the unprecedented missionaries it produced for the world, particularly Africa. African/Ghanaian Pentecostal missions to the non-African/Ghanaian communities beyond Africa/Ghana which is on the ascendancy can be seen as a feature inherited from the Azusa missionaries. Could this trend be the fulfillment of the dream of Karl Barth, who predicted a paradigm shift of world-view from the European world-view, which according to him was found wanting in the African world-view, in the following words: "Magical world-view? Who knows, maybe our fellow Christians

³¹ The 2000 population Census conducted by Ghana Statistical Service.

³² Iain MacRobert, 'The Black Roots of Pentecostalism', in Jan A.B. Jongeneel, a.o. (eds.), *Pentecost Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 74.

³³ Ibid. 75

³⁴ Ibid, quoting Albeert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 4-5.

in the new churches in Asia and Africa whose perception in this respect is pretty much alive can come to our aid one day?"³⁵

7. Conclusion

Charles F. Parham, Seymour's teacher, unfortunately had a jaundiced vision for Pentecostal mission abroad as exemplified in the following criticism made by him:

Seymour, drunken with power and swollen to bursting, sent for a hundred or more of this kind of workers to fill the earth with the worst prostitution of Christianity I ever witnessed; in shame we have had to hang our heads, as fanatics and fools have returned from foreign field in sin, disgrace and shame, with only monkey chattering; bringing a just criticism and condemnation from the Christian press and **public**.³⁶

Today, African Christians can state with certainty, that the gallant attempt Seymour and Azusa missionaries made to work in Africa was a glorious effort. Africans can raise their heads, with their chest out with pride (not shame), for the initiative and sacrifice made by Azusa missionaries, which has transformed African Christianity into a viable and vibrant one. They constitute a major factor that accounts for the paradigmatic shift of the center of gravity of Christianity to the southern continents, particularly Africa. This is because the bulk of the growth and the bulk of African missionaries in foreign lands are found in the **Pentecostal/charismatic** movement. This has implications for the shape of world Christianity in the 21st century. African spirituality and theology are increasingly becoming a global phenomenon and are representative of Christianity for the 21st century. This story must be told loud and clear through the research and writing of African and indeed world Church history, with Seymour and the Azusa movement given its proper place.

³⁵ Karl Barth, *Das christliche Leben*, Die Kirchliche Dogmatik IV, 4, Fragmente, 1959-1961 (Zurich, Theologischer Verlag, 1979), 369 & 373, cited by Cephas Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, 303.

³⁶ Charles F. Parham, "Unity", *The Apostolic Faith* [Baxter Springs, KS] 1.4 (June 1912), 9-10, courtesy of Cecil M. Robeck, Jr.

THE REFORMED ROOTS OF PENTECOSTALISM'

William W. Menzies

1. Introduction

Next month a series of celebrations will mark the centennial of the "Azusa Street Revival" in Los Angeles, California. It was there, in April, 1906, that a remarkable spiritual awakening occurred that many would call the birth of the modern Pentecostal movement. For the origin of this remarkable revival movement, some point to less known previous events that were stepping stones along the way, but certainly it was at Azusa Street that the modern Pentecostal revival became a world-wide phenomenon.

Vinson Synan, one of the best-known chroniclers of the Pentecostal movement, reported that within the twentieth century, the Pentecostal movement grew from nothing to at least 500 million followers!¹ Allan Anderson, noted missiologist, sees unabated growth into the near-term future for Pentecostalism and the associated Charismatic movement.³ Anderson sees the future of world-wide Christianity becoming increasingly marked by Pentecostal influences. Certainly the modern Pentecostal movement is one of the most important religious and sociological phenomena of the century.

But, what does this mean? What are the special markers that identify Pentecostalism? Around the world, Pentecostals in their many cultural

expressions, are in agreement about their commitment to *evangelical Christianity*. That is, there is a universal commitment to the authority of the Bible for all matters of faith and practice. And, in addition to their loyalty to the Scriptures interpreted as literally as possible, there is the attendant belief that intellectual assent to Truth is to be accompanied by a vital, personal experience with the Risen Christ. Pentecostals everywhere emphasize the necessity of individuals being "born again." In these respects, then, Pentecostals share common bonds with a host of other Christian believers, especially those who identify themselves as evangelicals. At the outset, it should be noted that Pentecostals owe a great debt to their evangelical theological forerunners, significant among which have been influences from the Reformed tradition. Donald Gee, one of the great British pioneer leaders in the Pentecostal movement, insisted that Pentecostals have really added nothing to mainstream, historic, orthodox Christianity, but should be seen as merely recalling the Church to its historic roots. Even though the appearance of charismatic phenomena produced widespread rejection of Pentecostals by virtually all sectors of the Christian church in its earlier years, Pentecostals have generally sought to maintain their allegiance to the tenets of traditional orthodox theology.

Pentecostals, although strongly allied to evangelical Christian values, however, have not been limited by traditional theological understandings about the work of the Holy Spirit. They have insisted that the core of orthodox faith does not preclude the expectation that God desires to empower His people in the present age with the power described in the Book of Acts. Pentecostals believe that the Scriptures teach that there is an experience, available to all believers, separable from New Birth. This experience, commonly called "Baptism in the Spirit," is understood to be an enablement for Christian witness. Acts 1:8 is the primary text identifying the purpose for this special experience of the Holy Spirit. Baptism in the Spirit is understood by Pentecostals, therefore, as having a *missiological* objective. In retrospect, it does appear that there may well be a likely connection between this missionary perspective and the fact that Pentecostals have had strong missionary ministry throughout the world in the last century.

There are related values associated with this Pentecostal experience of the Spirit. Many early Pentecostals employed the term "reality" to express the profound and powerful encounter they had experienced. They talked about "the fullness of the Spirit." They had encountered the "manifest" presence of God! A sense of wonder and joy were common elements in their public testimonies. Many reported manifestations of the

¹ A paper read at Free University, Amsterdam on March 16, 2006.

² Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2001), p.ix.

³ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 285,286.

charismatic gifts enumerated in I Cor. 12:8-10. Generally, those reporting a "Baptism in the Spirit" identified *glossolalia*, or speaking in tongues, as the accompanying sign associated with Baptism in the Spirit. This vital experience with God gave rise to exuberant worship services, often with loud shouting and lively music.⁴ Because of the heightened intensity in both *witness* and *worship*, it seems fitting to describe this dimension of the Spirit's work in the individual as the *expressive domain*. Pentecostals in their exuberance, reported "being filled with the Spirit." This corresponded with the reports they read of occurring in the early Palestinian churches in the Book of Acts.

The corollary to this is what might be called the *interior* domain of the Spirit. This term speaks of the salvific work of the Spirit, rather than His charismatic energizing of believers for prophetic witness. The salvific dimension, or the interior work of the Spirit, has to do with the development of the new life in Christ, rather than the prophetic, or charismatic dimension. This soteriological work entails the effectual calling of the believer, his regeneration and justification, and his subsequent growth in spiritual development, or the process of sanctification. By attempting to distinguish between the *expressive domain* and the *interior* domains, one avoids the possibility of falling into a kind of triumphalism. Why is this so? Baptism in the Spirit is understood, then, to be an "overflow of the Spirit," and not necessarily a mark of a higher level of spirituality—which is clearly identified with the interior work of the sanctifying Spirit.⁵ To be sure, not all Pentecostals have articulated their faith in this manner. Many, in fact, have taught a "three-stage soteriology," in which one is first born again, then "wholly sanctified," and, lastly, "filled with the Spirit." This teaching was generally advocated by Wesleyan believers who simply added the "third work of grace" to their theology when they adopted the Pentecostal message, especially in the early stages of the revival. Hence, some have employed terms like "Full Gospel," and "filled with the Spirit" in ways that inadvertently reflect a two-tier type of Christianity, with first- and second-class believers implied by their language. This, of course, is specifically a position repudiated by the Apostle Paul. See, for example,

Romans 8:9, in which Paul stoutly affirms that *all* believers have the Spirit.

Conventional wisdom is the perception that the modern Pentecostal revival is a direct, linear extension of the Wesleyan Holiness revival movement of the nineteenth century.⁶ In my paper I wish to point out that this is an oversimplification. In truth, the modern Pentecostal movement owes a considerable debt to the Reformed tradition, in addition to its Wesleyan forbears.

The writer of this paper acknowledges that his familiarity with American literature and activity has led him to present his paper from that perspective, apologizing for his lack of expertise in European literature and history.

2. Wesleyan Influences in the Period of Modern Pentecostal Origins: 1900-1910

The earliest years of the modern Pentecostal movement, from roughly 1900 to 1910, disclose a ferment of theological ideas which the early leaders employed in an effort to articulate their understanding of what God appeared to be doing among them. Nearly all of the first generation of Pentecostal leaders came out of the Wesleyan Holiness environment. The influence of Methodism is transparent. The followers of John Wesley taught "imperfect regeneration." That is, the believer in his/her initial stages of Christian experience was "born again," but was still tainted by the mark of inbred sin. John Wesley taught the objective of the Christian life was to enter into a state in which the "sin principle" is eradicated—something akin to sinless perfection. Wesley identified this by the term "perfect love." This was achieved through a subsequent crisis experience of the Spirit his followers called "entire sanctification." Pressed by critics for a definition of what this means with respect to the possibility of sinning, Wesley carved out a somewhat limited definition of sin: "the conscious violation of known law." Before him, Luther and Calvin had spoken of sin in absolute terms as *any* transgression of God's will, whether or not the individual was conscious of the violation. By narrowing the definition of sin, Wesley was able to bring the issue within the range of human responsibility. Wesley preferred the positive expression of entire sanctification, "perfect love," but his detractors would not let him neglect the implications on the negative side of the

⁴ For vivid accounts of the lives and practices of some of the key early Pentecostal leaders in America, see Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2003).

⁵ This understanding of Pentecostal experience is spelled out in Robert P. Menziez and William W. Menziez, *Spirit and Power* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 2000).

⁶ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis & Taylor, division of Zondervan Publishing House, 1987), 35-54.

equation, how this experience affected one's ability to sin or not to sin.⁷ Nonetheless, in spite of what some would criticize as imperfect theology, Wesley left a legacy in the Christian churches of a yearning and expectation of deeper experiences with God, a journey of faith urged upon all believers. This yearning after a deeper experience with God is the hallmark of most renewal movements.

The Methodist Church, which Wesley founded with great reluctance in the late-eighteenth century, flourished in the United States. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Methodist Church was the largest single component of Protestant Christianity in the country. However, success in numbers and influence was accompanied by rapid erosion of the special emphases that defined the first generation of Wesleyans. By the last decades of the century, Methodist bishops in the United States were marginalizing pastors who taught Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification. The teaching of entire sanctification had become an offense to the leaders of Methodism. It was out of step with the theology of Modernism that most of the Methodist leaders had readily adopted.

In the 1860s, a whole range of new organizations and forums appeared in order to keep alive the passion of John Wesley. These new denominations and associations came to be called the "Holiness Movement." It was largely within this context that Wesleyan Holiness believers by the decade of the 1890s were exhorted to seek God earnestly for the full blessing of Pentecost. It was to these believers, hungry for all that God had for them, that the Pentecostal revival was poured out around the beginning of the twentieth century.

There was no single leader who can be rightly labeled the "father" of the Pentecostal revival. Rather, it seems that at about the same time, in many parts of the world, in isolated clusters of praying believers, the Spirit fell. How did they know this had happened? The common denominator in these episodes of Holy Spirit activity was the testimony of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gave utterance. It is easy to understand how Wesleyan believers, who previously had taught a two-stage soteriology, now quickly modified their teaching to employ a three-stage understanding. First—saved by God's grace; second—emptied, or sanctified; and third—filled with the Spirit. This seemed to the early Pentecostals to be a satisfying way to meet their need for a useful means of communicating what had happened to them. And, it was very real to them! There is no way to account for their willingness to be subjected to

⁷ John Wesley, in "The Fullness of Faith" in Albert Outler, ed. *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 252-267.

the rejection, even the persecution they suffered, apart from their steadfast belief that they had found "reality." God was, indeed, very real to them!

By the time of the Azusa Street revival, as word spread, largely through the printed page, isolated believers in diverse places recognized that what was being reported in Los Angeles was what had happened to them! Consequently, believers in communities in North America, Europe, and elsewhere, found ways of forming associations. Independent congregations, largely comprised of Wesleyan Pentecostals at first, used terms like "the Apostolic Faith" or "Full Gospel" to identify their local churches. Between 1907 and 1909, several entire Wesleyan denominations were swept into the Pentecostal fold. Examples of this are the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) and the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the church of which Vinson Synan is a member and the denomination from which Oral Roberts emerged. After 1909, the Wesleyan Holiness movement in the United States took a strong stand against the Pentecostal revival, and the leakage to the Pentecostal movement was virtually closed.

So, it appears that the period up to about 1910 was largely a Wesleyan Pentecostal story. But, there is more that must be said. Within the next decade, the growing influence of non-Wesleyan Christianity emerges, and, in fact, by 1920, the non-Wesleyan component of the modern Pentecostal movement emerged as the main stream of the Pentecostal movement worldwide. The Assemblies of God is a clear example of this development.

3. Non-Wesleyan Influences Shaping Pentecostal Theology: 1910-1920

3.1 Fundamentalism

The religious forces sweeping into the American churches in the late nineteenth century produced consternation among orthodox believers. Two parallel, sometimes overlapping, movements—fundamentalism and the holiness revival, developed in opposition to what was felt to be an alarming trend in the larger church world. American Fundamentalism was the product of a coalition of the Reformed scholastic theology centered at Princeton Theological Seminary and Scofieldian "dispensationalism," a hermeneutical system that featured a premillennial eschatology. The chief contributions of the Princeton theology lay in the attempt to support the credibility of biblical Christianity by appeal to reason and to external evidences. The Princetonians adopted a "citadel" view of biblical inspiration, in which inerrancy was accorded

only to the original biblical documents written in the hand of the authors or their amanuenses. Of course, none of these documents exist today, all having disappeared through time. However, this line of argumentation narrowed the focus of inquiry to a clearly-defined defensible perimeter. The question of the history of the biblical text was therefore avoided as a separate issue to be pursued.

Princeton served as the great bastion of orthodox Protestant theology in the United States throughout the long and contentious history of the "Fundamentalist-Modernist" debate. The apologetic works of the great Princeton scholars, most notably B.B. Warfield and J. Gresham Machen, are still useful resources. Proponents of Modernism had largely discarded the possibility of biblical miracles, and hence had cast aspersions on the traditional views of the atonement of Jesus Christ, his virgin birth, His bodily resurrection, and His physical return to Earth at the end of the age. The Princeton apologists presented powerful arguments defending biblical Christianity, arguments that the Modernists never really succeeded in refuting. Modernism took over the apparatus of much of American mainline Christianity by subterfuge rather than by open discussion of the pertinent issues.

B.B. Warfield adopted as his strategy in dealing with the issue of miracles the principle of refusing to debate the possibility of *modern* miracles, choosing rather to deal specifically with the miracles cited in Scripture. By withdrawing into this narrowly-defined perimeter, or "citadel," Warfield sought to concentrate his focus on what he perceived to be the crux of the debate. In so doing, however, he chose to identify with one particular stream in the Reformed tradition, a view held in part at least by John Calvin and, earlier, by Augustine. This view essentially divided the gifts of the Spirit into *pastoral* gifts (such as preaching, teaching, leading, etc.) and *visible* gifts, such as those listed by the Apostle Paul in I Cor. 12:8-10. Today such manifestations of the Spirit are usually called *charismatic* gifts. This teaching of Warfield was expressed most clearly in his monumental work, *Counterfeit Miracles* which appeared in 1918. His desire to avoid disputes over a variety of claims for supernatural phenomena in the contemporary world led Warfield to become a major theological opponent of the modern Pentecostal movement. We will presently return to Warfield and subsequent developments within the Reformed tradition.

The other wing of American Fundamentalism, premillennial dispensationalism, had its origins in the Plymouth Brethren, a British sect founded by J. Nelson Darby around 1830. Darby visited the United States on various occasions between 1866 and 1877, having a powerful

influence on key American churchmen, especially those agonizing over the inroads of Modernism. His influence is evident in the Bible conference movement which began in 1876. A series of interdenominational meetings, combining a zeal for promoting serious Bible study with a kindred zeal for eschatological themes, culminated in the Niagara Bible Conference of 1895. It is from this series of meetings that the platform of Fundamentalism was hammered out, finding expression subsequently in various denominational statements and especially, in *The Fundamentals*, a 12-volume set of lectures produced between 1909 and 1912, which were widely distributed throughout the American churches.⁸ The main points of Fundamentalism became intimately associated, not only with the towering apologetic scholarship of the Princeton theologians, but disclosed an affinity with the eschatology of C.I. Scofield, perhaps the chief popularizer of dispensational eschatology.⁹ Those who held to historic premillennialism, rather than to dispensationalism, gradually lost influence, particularly after the publication of the *Scofield Reference Bible* in 1909.

As an indicator of how important the influence of Fundamentalism was on the Pentecostal movement, in the Assemblies of God, as just one Pentecostal denomination, more than 200 titles by **dispensationalist-fundamentalist** writers appear in the catalogs of the Gospel Publishing House during the years of the height of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. Further, it is significant that the eschatology of the Assemblies of God is derived directly from the categories provided by C.I. Scofield. Frank M. Boyd and Ralph M. Riggs, important theologians in the formative years of the Assemblies of God, turned dispensationalism on its head, making the Church Age the age of the Spirit, rather than the hiatus advocated by Scofieldian dispensationalism! The result is that Pentecostals, such as the Assemblies of God, are still prone to employ the terminology of a now largely-discarded system of eschatology, using the terms of dispensational theology in ways totally contrary to the intended teaching of people like Scofield!¹⁰

A strong sense of kinship with Fundamentalism remained acute in the Pentecostal movement even after the World Christian Fundamentals

⁸ Bruce Shelley, *Evangelicalism in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967), 62.

⁹ Frank C. Masserano, "A Study of Worship Forms in the Assemblies of God Denomination" (Th.M. thesis, Princeton Seminary, 1966), 31-34.

¹⁰ See Frank M. Boyd, *Ages and Dispensations* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1949).

Association at a convention in Chicago, in May, 1928, passed a resolution disavowing any connection with the "tongues-talkers and faith healers." The editorial in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, dated August 18, 1928, conveys the wounded spirit of the Pentecostals, who responded to the Fundamentalist diatribe with a statement affirming solidarity with Fundamentalist values in spite of the rejection that had been expressed. The editors held out an olive branch to the Fundamentalists, yearning for the day when the Pentecostals would no longer be spumed.

3.2 The Keswick Influence

The Holiness movement which flowered in late-nineteenth century America really had two wings. One was the attempt to recover Wesley's second-blessing doctrine of sanctification. This found expression in the National Holiness Association, which looks back to a camp meeting in Vineland, New Jersey in 1867 for its genesis. New denominations were spun off from the Methodist Church and various Wesleyan Holiness associations proliferated well into the early years of the new century. But, this was but one wing of the larger Holiness movement.

In the Lake District of northern England, in the Anglican parish of Keswick, an interdenominational convention was conducted in the mid-1870s with the specific objective of promoting a deeper Christian life. Robert Pearsall Smith, an American Quaker with long-time association with the Presbyterian Church, was instrumental in establishing Keswick as a perennial convention throughout the English-speaking world—a tradition that continues to this day. He brought the Keswick emphases back to the United States. A central teaching of Keswick was the displacement of the "eradication of the sin principle," a concept important to the Wesleyan seekers after holiness, with a recognition that sanctification is not so much a state of being, as a daily-maintained condition appropriate to a healthy Christian life.¹¹ Soteriology was understood in terms that resonate with a Reformed understanding of the soteriological track. Along with this attenuated holiness expectation, Keswick featured an appreciation for the need to seek the Holy Spirit for an endowment of power for witness and service.

These teachings—the denial of the eradication of inward sin and the emphasis on premillennialism, faith healing, and the "gifts of the Spirit"—opened a wide breach in the holiness

¹¹ A good outline of standard Keswick teaching is to be found in Steven Barabas, *So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention* (Westwood, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell, n.d.).

ranks. The conflict spread to America when Dwight L. Moody, R.A. Torrey, first president of Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Adoniram J. Gordon, father of Gordon College, Boston, A.B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and the evangelist J. Wilbur Chapman began to propagate in this country the Keswick version of the second blessing.¹²

One of the principal early figures who had a direct impact on the Pentecostal movement was John Alexander Dowie, an Australian with Scottish Presbyterian roots, who later became a Congregational minister. Dowie adopted revivalistic views, especially featuring divine healing. Dowie emigrated to the United States in 1888, just prior to the Pentecostal outpouring. Although he never identified with the Pentecostal movement, nonetheless many of his followers left his Christian Catholic Church, located near Chicago, to join the Pentecostals. Donald Gee classifies his views of sanctification as **Keswickian**.¹³

The single most significant influence from the Keswick world which the Pentecostal movement experienced was that of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. A.B. Simpson, Canadian-born Presbyterian minister, adopted a Keswick view of sanctification, experiencing a remarkable personal spiritual and physical renewal in the summer of 1881 at a convention in Old Orchard, Maine. Within a short time, Simpson had left his New York City pastorate and was devoting himself to evangelism. Out of his evangelistic and missionary zeal, eventually in New York the "Gospel Tabernacle" was erected. By 1887, Simpson had founded one of the first Bible schools in the nation, the Nyack Missionary Training Institute, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance denomination was formed. The Alliance began as a relatively loose federation of churches which adopted a four-fold message: Jesus Christ as Savior, Healer, Sanctifier, and Coming King. Simpson's teaching on sanctification featured the terminology of the "indwelling Christ," which was his way of identifying with the progressive sanctification scheme of the Keswick orbit. George Pardington, an official theologian of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, employed similar Keswickian

¹² Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 25.

¹³ Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement*, enlarged ed. (London: Elim Publishing Company, 1949), 5. See also Gordon Lindsay, *The Life of John Alexander Dowie* (n.p.: Voice of Healing Publishing Company, 1951).

language.¹⁴ In the official biography of Simpson, written shortly after his death, A.E. Thompson included a chapter of eulogy written by James M. Gray, the dean of Moody Bible Institute. Gray was a long-time friend of Simpson's. He recalls the origin of the Simpson's "four-fold gospel," citing the influence of the Baptist educator, A.J. Gordon. Evidently Gray saw common theological threads in Gordon and Simpson, emphases to which he himself was sympathetic.¹⁵

Gordon's view of sanctification, which seems to resonate with Simpson, emphasized the progressive nature of sanctification. In addition, Gordon advocated an additional work of the Spirit, separate from regeneration and subsequent to it, which he titled "Baptism in the Holy Spirit." This Baptism in the Spirit Gordon understood to be specifically an endowment of power for Christian witness and ministry.¹⁶

In effect, by the 1890s, chiefly through Keswickian influences, a theology supporting the Pentecostal revival was already well developed—with virtually everything in place except the Pentecostal propensity for insisting on the initial physical evidence of the Baptism in the Spirit being speaking in other tongues. This is clearly evident in the theology of the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal denomination generally recognized as the most widely-representative of the various Pentecostal denominations. In 1916, out of a perceived need to state important theological positions to provide stability in the midst of the turbulent and disruptive "Jesus Only" issue¹⁷, with great reluctance the Assemblies of God adopted a "Statement of Fundamental Truths." This doctrinal statement was largely the product of one individual, D.W. Kerr, a former Christian and Missionary Alliance pastor. The General Council in session readily adopted his recommendation for a statement of faith, and the crisis was quickly resolved.¹⁸ What is significant is that the

¹⁴ See George Pardington, *The Crisis of the Deeper Life* (Harrisburg, PA: Alliance Publishing Company, n.d.).

¹⁵ A.E. Thompson, *The Life of A.B. Simpson* (New York: Christian Alliance Publishing Company, 1920), 258.

¹⁶ A.J. Gordon, *The Ministry of the Spirit* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1894), 74.

¹⁷ The "Jesus Only" issue nearly wrecked the early Pentecostal movement. This was a teaching which swept through early Pentecostal gatherings, chiefly impacting those with a Keswickian perspective, like the very young Assemblies of God. The "Jesus Only" teaching amounted to a form of Unitarianism. See William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 111-121, for a detailed account of this issue.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

Assemblies of God in its initial formulation borrowed wholesale nearly the entire apparatus of the Christian and Missionary Alliance—its polity and its doctrine, including the "Four-fold Gospel." The obvious point that failed to come across was a difference of opinion regarding the Baptism in the Spirit. The leaders of the Assemblies of God perceived this experience of the Spirit to be accompanied by speaking in tongues—a teaching repudiated by the Alliance. It should be noted that the "Four-fold Gospel" was altered somewhat, as well. Instead of the A.J. Gordon/A.B. Simpson teaching that "Christ is the Sanctifier," that point was modified by the Assemblies of God to state "Christ is the Baptizer in the Holy Spirit."

In summary, then, it is evident that at least a significant portion of the modern Pentecostal movement derived much from non-Wesleyan sources. A standard book of doctrinal teaching employed widely throughout the Assemblies of God, develops a soteriology clearly based on a Reformed understanding, rather than on the Wesleyan. This is evident, for example, in the statement regarding justification:

Justification is the breathtaking announcement that the sinner is not guilty. In God's eyes the sins are gone, removed from us "as far as the east is from the west"—which is an infinite distance (see Ps.103:12). Micah 7:18-19 says it beautifully, "Who is God like you, who pardons sin and forgives the transgression of the remnant of his inheritance? You do not stay angry forever but delight to show mercy. You will again have compassion on us; you will tread our sins underfoot and hurl all our iniquities into the depths of the sea."¹⁹

The document goes on to point out three results of justification, or "positional righteousness." The penalty of sin has been dealt with, the believer is restored to divine favor, and finally, the believer has imputed to him the righteousness of Jesus Christ.²⁰ This corresponds rather well with a standard Reformed theology textbook commonly used in college classrooms.²¹

¹⁹ William W. Menzies and Stanley M. Horton, *Bible Doctrines: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1993), 105,106.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Louis Berkhof, *Manual of Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, MI: 1950), 256-264.

The doctrine of sanctification is another point at which a close correspondence exists between Pentecostals, such as the Assemblies of God, and the Reformed understanding. The Assemblies of God rejects the notion of a necessary crisis experience subsequent to regeneration, what Wesleyans call "entire sanctification." Rather, the emphasis is on the cultivation of an appropriate Christian life-style, what is recognized as a "growth in **grace**."²² This is mirrored by the teaching of Louis Berkhof.²³

The Presbyterian Charismatic J. Rodman Williams follows precisely the same understanding of justification and sanctification as do the Assemblies of God teachers mentioned above, and the Reformed scholar, Louis Berkhof.²⁴ The affinity for the Reformed platform for soteriology among Pentecostals, such as the Assemblies of God constituency, appears to be convincing. It is evident that a Presbyterian scholar, such as J. Rodman Williams, has no problem erecting his Pentecostal theology on the Reformed, or Presbyterian, platform. From this we can see that the Pentecostals between 1910 and 1920 clearly divided into two wings, largely defined by differing views of sanctification. The earlier Wesleyan view no longer dominated. Those Pentecostals who displayed an affinity with Reformed soteriology grew increasingly influential over the ensuing years.

4. Reformed Precursors to the Modern Pentecostal Revival

4.1 The Teaching of John Calvin.

It is probably safe to say that John Calvin did not subscribe to the notion that believers in his day should look for the charismatic, or to use his term, the "visible" gifts of the Spirit. In his discussion of baptism, Calvin seems to have adopted the idea that baptism in the Spirit, mentioned in Acts 1:5, identified with the "visible graces" of God, was dispensed by the apostles through the laying on of hands. He seems to suggest that this was Luke's way of speaking about the initial regeneration of the Palestinian believers.²⁵ However, J. Rodman

²² Menzies and Horton, 147-154.

²³ Berkhof, 265-273.

²⁴ J. Rodman Williams, *Renewal Theology*, vol.2. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990), 61-117.

²⁵ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol.2 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960, ed. by John T. McNeill; trans. by Ford L. Battles), 1318.

Williams sees in Calvin's treatment of baptism the likelihood that Calvin saw the Spirit being distributed through the apostles' laying on of hands. Williams perceived that Calvin was reluctant to reduce the gifts of the Spirit to merely another way of speaking about **regeneration**.²⁶ Calvin certainly does acknowledge gifts of the Spirit, but he is clearly urging his readers not to go looking for visible **giftings**. "If we seek any other gifts of the Spirit, they will be found in his **anointing**."²⁷

It is quite clear that Calvin, following Augustine, makes a distinction between those ministries that have a permanent character necessary for the effective ministry of the church, and those ministries that were only intended to be temporary. It is here that Calvin makes the point that charismatic gifts were, for whatever reason, limited to the Apostolic Age, and that only the pastoral gifts enumerated in Paul's epistles have an enduring **value**.²⁸ Regarding the first Pentecost, Calvin makes this curious comment: "As for ourselves, let us understand that the words spoken then to the Jews are true for us today, for although the visible gifts of the Spirit have ceased, God has not yet withdrawn His Spirit from His **Church**."²⁹

Calvin, in treating the episode of the Spirit's outpouring at Samaria, he says this:

To sum up, since the Samaritans had the Spirit of adoption conferred on them already, the extraordinary graces of the Spirit are added as a culmination. In these God for a time showed to His Church something like the visible presence of His Spirit, in order to establish for ever the authority of His Gospel, and at the same time to testify that the Spirit will always be the Governor and Director of the faithful."

²⁶ J. Rodman Williams, vol.2, 179.

²⁷ Calvin, vol.1, 527.

²⁸ Calvin, vol.2, 1061. See also, an excellent article by Paul Elbert, titled "Calvin and the Spiritual Gifts," in *Essays on Apostolic Themes*, ed. by Paul Elbert (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing Company, 1985), 115-143.

²⁹ John Calvin, *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, vol.6: "The Acts of the Apostles, 1-13." Eds.: David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance, tr.: John W. Fraser and W.J.G. McDonald (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965), 59.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 236.

Calvin recognized that the gift of the Spirit described in the Pentecostal episode at the home of Cornelius was of a different order from the regenerating work of the Spirit. He resigned himself to the fact that such extraordinary manifestations no longer are evident in the Church, but it does not appear that Calvin diminished their value in any way. "Certainly the gift of tongues and other things of that kind have long since ceased in the Church, but the Spirit of understanding and regeneration thrives and will always thrive."³¹

It is important to place Calvin in the context of his times. On the one hand, Calvin was endeavoring to release the Christian message from the tyranny imposed on it by the suffocating influences of the Medieval Church. And, on the other hand, he, like Luther, sought to avoid being distracted from what he felt were reformation of the Church. Both Luther and Calvin were opposed to enthusiasts who wished to rush on past the Bible to make room for immediate leadings of the Spirit. The enthusiasts were impatient with the more temperate teachings of Luther and Calvin, who were indeed anchored to the Bible. The "radical reformers" made the mistake of placing prophetic revelations, purporting to come from the Holy Spirit, on a plane with the objective Word of God, or, in some cases, putting prophetic utterances above the Bible. It is little wonder that Calvin was cautious about opening the door to such enthusiasts.

I think a case can be made for seeing Calvin acknowledging the reality of the "visibie gifts" for the Church, but it is equally clear that there is a difference between mere acknowledgement and strong endorsement. He seems to accept the manifestation of extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, such as those described in Acts, as valid operations of the Spirit, but appears to limit their apparent value to that of substantiating the Gospel message for the benefit of the earliest Christian believers.

4.2 Theodore Frelinghuysen.

A key instrument in bringing renewal to the Middle Colonies was Theodore Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed pastor in New Jersey. Beginning in 1726, his ministry brought revival, not only to the Reformed people of New Jersey, but also had a powerful influence on the Presbyterians in that region. Among those deeply affected by the revival were William and Gilbert Tennent, Presbyterian pastors in eastern Pennsylvania. William Tennent endeavored to teach young men how to be effective pastors. His humble "log college" was the direct antecedent

of Princeton College. From the Middle Colonies, the Great Awakening spread to New England where the Congregationalists were stirred.

4.2 The Contribution of Jonathan Edwards.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) is considered to be perhaps the greatest theologian to appear in North America. A thorough-going Calvinist, Edwards was God's chosen instrument to bring about a remarkable renewal among the Christian churches of colonial New England. He might be considered a forerunner to later revival movements, including the modern Pentecostal revival, in three ways. First, against fierce opposition from fellow-clergymen, Edwards encouraged people to seek God for a profound, life-changing personal experience. Second, his preaching and teaching were marked by keen insights into the subjective dimension of Christianity, into the realm of Christian experience. He was acutely aware of the pastoral need to distinguish between true and false religion. And, third, Edwards in his own life exhibited what later Pentecostals would identify as "the anointing" of God. He was an instrument of renewal, one who lived out what he wrote about! In a broad sense, then, he might be considered a legitimate "pre-Pentecostal." His *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, published in 1746, is generally recognized as one of the greatest works ever written on religious psychology. It is evident that he had a keen insight into the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of people—and how to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate religious experience.

4.3 Edward Irving

Edward Irving (1792-1834), was a native of Scotland. He was ordained in the Scottish Presbyterian Church, and in the 1820s was dispatched to London to pastor the Caledonian Chapel. His effective preaching attracted large crowds. By 1827 he was encouraging his parishioners to seek for a deeper work of the Spirit in their lives. He rejected the notion that the gifts of the Spirit ceased with the Apostolic Age, and that believers should expect the Holy Spirit to be poured out upon them in their own day. In 1830, on a visit to his native Scotland, Irving came upon a group of people who were, in fact, experiencing extraordinary things. He witnessed a remarkable healing. People began to experience what they termed a "baptism in the Spirit," punctuated with speaking in other tongues. On his return to London, Irving exhorted his

³¹ Ibid., 317.

people to reach out to God for a baptism in the Holy Spirit. For him, speaking in tongues was "the standing sign" of Spirit baptism.³²

Edward Irving went on to found the Catholic Apostolic Church upon his excommunication from the Scottish Presbyterian Church. Many of his parishioners followed him. Unfortunately, he fell into the error of appointing apostles and for predicting the imminent return of Jesus Christ. This unusual movement quickly fell into obscurity upon the early death of its founder. There is no clear connection with this British revival episode and the later emergence of the Pentecostal revival. However, what is significant for our purpose is the identification of a theologian from the Reformed tradition who openly advocated a recovery of the Apostolic gifts.

4.4 Charles G. Finney

Charles G. Finney (1792-1873), an attorney in the state of New York, was converted to Christ in a Presbyterian Church at the age of 29. He separated from the Presbyterian Church and joined the Congregationalists, another denomination in the Reformed tradition. For more than 40 years, Finney was used by God to bring remarkable awakenings to numerous communities throughout the American eastern states. He became a professor of theology at Oberlin College in Ohio, but maintained his pulpit ministry in New York at the same time for several years. He and his colleague at Oberlin, President Asa Mahan, were instrumental in promoting the term "Baptism in the Holy Spirit." Written toward the end of his life, Finney's recollection of his conversion experience is couched in terms that describe his being overwhelmed by the presence of God.

But as I turned and was about to take a seat by the fire, I received a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost. Without any expectation of it, without ever having in my mind that there was any such thing for me, without any recollection that I had ever heard the thing mentioned by any person in the world, the Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul...I wept aloud with joy and

³² David W. Dorries, "Edward Irving and the 'Standing Sign' of Spirit Baptism" in Gary B. McGee, ed., *Initial Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing Company, 1991), 49.

love; and I do not know but I should say, I literally bellowed out the unutterable gushings of my heart.³³

This report captures the core of Finney's appreciation of a desirable deeper experience with God that is available to believers, what he understood to be a baptism in the Spirit, as an endowment of power for service. Indeed, what became known as "Oberlin Theology" promulgated by Mahan and Finney, was a formative influence, especially among exponents of Keswick teaching. Indeed, not only did a wide range of Reformed-oriented evangelicals adopt this terminology, but Wesleyans employed the term "baptism in the Spirit" frequently to refer to the "second blessing."

In fact, one Wesleyan body that came into existence about the time of the Pentecostal revival, the Church of the Nazarene, originally called themselves "the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene." However, to avoid any possible confusion with the Pentecostal movement, in 1919 this body of evangelical believers quietly dropped "Pentecostal" from their title!

These brief notations are samplings of the contribution of evangelical believers from the Reformed tradition who had an important influence in the shaping of values that later were incorporated readily into the fabric of the modern Pentecostal movement. Certainly the background of the Pentecostal revival is much richer and varied than seeing it as simply an extension of Wesleyanism.

4.5 Abraham Kuyper

The prolific writings of the founder of the Free University, Amsterdam, include a major study of the person and work of the Holy Spirit, published in 1900. At the heart of his scholarship was a passion to see the restoration of the purity and power of the Christian Church. In explanatory notes appended to the American edition of his monumental work, his English translator, Henri de Vries observed:

His success in this respect appears conspicuously in the reformation of the Reformed Churches in 1886, and in the subsequent development of marvelous energy and activity in Church and State which are products of revived and reconstructed Calvinism. Without the patient toil and labor of

³³ Charles G. Finney, *Autobzographv* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 20.

this quarter of a century, that reformation would have been

It is clear that Kuyper's memorable renewal of the Dutch church and also the renewing of Dutch society, was founded squarely on a fresh articulation of historic Calvinist theology. Prominent in his teaching was his understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit. We may speculate on how Kuyper would have reacted, had he lived a century later. What possibility lies in his theology for accommodating a Pentecostal theology? It should be borne in mind that Kuyper, writing in the late-nineteenth century, predated the eruption of the modern Pentecostal revival. What can we glean from Kuyper? How would he have responded to the Pentecostal outpouring of the twentieth century?

First, Kuyper recognized that the gifts of the Spirit were—and continue to be—important for the well-being of the Church. "The charismata or spiritual gifts are the divinely ordained means and powers whereby the King enables His Church to perform its task on the earth."³⁵ However, it is true that in his careful distinctions between various classifications of gifts, given to the Church, he recognizes that the more clearly supernatural manifestations, or "extraordinary charismata," such as speaking in tongues, are not evident in the present-day Church. Like Calvin, it appears that Kuyper sees as permanent giftings in the Church those "ordinary charismata" directly impacting the edification of believers in the Body of Christ. Other "extraordinary gifts" appear to be more dispensable. Here is a summary of his classification of supernatural gifts:

The charismata now existing in the Church are those pertaining to the ministry of the Word; the ordinary charismata of increased exercise of faith and love; those of wisdom, knowledge, and discernment of spirits; that of self-restraint; and lastly, that of healing the sick suffering from nervous and psychological diseases. The others for the present are inactive.³⁶

³⁴ Henri de Vries, "Explanatory Notes to the American Edition," in Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1941, reprinted from the original copyrighted edition by Funk and Wagnalls, 1900), xv.

³⁵ Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1941), 184.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.

What is intriguing in this brief statement is the open-ended view he seems to have held about the possible *future* restoration of extraordinary gifts, such as speaking in tongues! Although he recognizes realistically that these gifts are currently "inactive," is it possible that Kuyper held open the possibility of a restoration of such gifts at some time in the future? Although Kuyper wanted very much to see the Church revived in his day, on balance it is clear that he, along with Calvin, and most other Calvinists in the post-Reformation period, must be classified as a cessationist.

5. The Heart of the Matter: Cessationism

It is evident that the modern Pentecostal movement owes much to the Reformed tradition. However, the crucial issue that has dominated much of Reformed pneumatology, has been the belief that the *charismata* of the New Testament had a legitimacy for the Apostolic age only. This is known popularly as cessationism. Benjamin B. Warfield, the great apologist of the Princeton titans, placed the charismata outside the expectation for the present-day Church. In so doing, Warfield struck at the heart of the modern Pentecostal movement. If miracles, including the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, are not possible for the Church today, the Pentecostals are by definition illegitimate. This is certainly a central issue.

Warfield wrote the definitive volume on the issue of the cessation of the *charismata*. His avowed purpose:

My design is to state and examine the chief views which have been held favorable to the continuance of the charismata beyond the Apostolic age. In the process of examination occasion will offer for noting whatever is needful to convince us that the possession of the charismata was confined to the Apostolic age.³⁷

By the 1940s, a growing number of evangelical Christian leaders, through their irenic association with Pentecostal leaders, recognized that they held much in common, and that the time had come to lay aside

³⁷ Benjamin B. Warfield, *Miracles: Yesterday and Today, True and False* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953), 6. This volume was originally published in 1918 under the title *Counterfeit Miracles*.

earlier prejudices. Twenty years later, a phenomenon that has come to be called the Charismatic movement erupted, reaching into virtually every sector of the Christian church. Presbyterians, Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Baptist, and Holiness bodies, along with Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox, noted that many within their ranks were reporting "baptisms in the Spirit," including speaking in other tongues. Prophecy, remarkable healings, and other extraordinary manifestations no longer were maintained within the province of the Pentecostal churches. The bastion of cessationism now came under serious attack.

The monumental work of Jon Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata*, is without doubt the most comprehensive assessment of the cessationist issue currently available. Ruthven asserts that cessationism is a concept with questionable roots. "Cessationism did not originate within orthodox Christianity but within normative Judaism and in Christian sects during the first three centuries of the Common Era."³⁸ Ruthven points out that cessationism is, curiously, actually to be attributed to Montanism. Augustine, cited by Ruthven, in his argument with the Montanists, argues that miracles did, in fact, continue after the Apostolic age. "He complains in *City of God* 22.8 that contemporary miracles are relatively unknown not because they no longer occur, but simply because of bad communication and because people are conditioned (perhaps from statements like his own, [cited previously by Ruthven]) to disbelieve them."³⁹ Augustine earlier had argued for the cessation of the charismata, but later changed his view.

Ruthven, in his analysis of the writings of John Calvin, sees some ambiguity in Calvin's teaching on the possibility of contemporary gifts of the Spirit. "Calvin popularized the restriction of miracles to the accreditation of the apostles and specifically to their Gospel, though he was less rigid about cessationism than many of his followers in that he held to the tradition that in unevangelized areas, apostles and prophetic gifts could recur to confirm the Gospel."⁴⁰ Essentially for Calvin, the purpose of the gifts of the Spirit was a means of accrediting God's Word. But, the door appears to be left open for manifestations of the gifts, even in a later day.

Warfield's cessationist polemic was founded on his understanding of Calvinism, which in turn (through the "Princeton school") was shaped by

³⁸ Jon Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

Scottish common sense philosophy. He had an overweening confidence in human reason to solve even theological issues. And, for him, appeal to the miraculous opened the door to a kind of extra-biblical revelation that threatened his system.⁴¹

Ruthven challenged Warfield on another front, as well. He believed that Warfield had an inadequate understanding of the Kingdom of God. "Its nature is essentially that of warfare against the kingdom of Satan and its ruinous effects (Mt. 4:23; 9:35; 10:6,7; 12:28....)"⁴² The Kingdom theology of G.E. Ladd, an evangelical Presbyterian, professor at Fuller Theological Seminary for many years, is certainly very different from the eschatology of Warfield. Ladd's view emphasizes the present age as a combat zone in which disciples of Christ are empowered to wage war against the destructive forces of Satan. Although Ladd never adopted Pentecostalism, his teaching certainly opens the door for the Pentecostal understanding of **Spirit-empowerment!**⁴³

Ruthven systematically destroys the cessationist teaching of Warfield. Among the several major points he makes, Ruthven states:

He also fails to account for the many explicit biblical commands directly to seek, desire and employ the very charismata he claims have ceased. How can Warfield ignore these biblically explicit conditions and commands for the continuation of the charismata, if, as he insists, the Bible continues as the normative guide to the church for its faith and praxis?

It is little wonder that the cessationist viewpoint has lost most of its following in the last generation.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have sought to demonstrate that the modern Pentecostal movement owes much to the Reformed tradition. It is an oversimplification to assert that Pentecostalism is but an extension of the Wesleyan Holiness movement. A significant portion of the Pentecostal

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 52,53.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴³ George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 79-211.

movement, exhibited by groups such as the Assemblies of God, borrow as much, if not more, from the Reformed tradition than from the Wesleyan tradition. We Pentecostals owe an enormous debt to our forbears of the Reformed faith.

However, one stream of thought in the history of Calvinist literature has been the concept that the gifts of the Spirit, important at the outset of the Church for accrediting the apostles and their Gospel, ceased to exist shortly thereafter. In this line of reasoning, one need not expect to see these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit in evidence in our world today. Once the objective Word of God, the Bible, was in place, there has been no further need for the charismata.

There is overwhelming evidence that the gifts of the Spirit never did cease entirely. The pages of Church history are punctuated with isolated and limited outpourings of the Spirit. None of these eruptions survived. Certainly the main stream of the Christian Church did not embrace such occurrences, but the evidence remains that there has been at least a sprinkling of gifts of the Spirit throughout the centuries. One might argue that the modern Pentecostal movement is unique in the history of Charismatic revival movements—in that it has survived long enough to be given a serious hearing by the larger church world.

Now that the playing field is much more level, Pentecostals and Reformed scholars have a fresh new opportunity to think and study and pray together. We have much with which to encourage one another as we engage the spiritual challenges confronting the Church in post-modern Netherlands, Europe, and America. Certainly the Church needs to be renewed and revitalized by the fresh wind of the Holy Spirit as we together confront moral relativism, religious pluralism, and the acids of increasing secularism in much of the Western world. We are engaged in a great spiritual war. May we humbly beseech God to pour out His Holy Spirit upon us afresh!

'UP, UP AND AWAY': PENTECOSTAL PREACHING AND THE MANIC DEFENCE

Bruce Stevens

1. Changes in preaching over five decades in Australia

A slice of the history of the Assemblies of God in Australia can be seen in two early magazines: *Glad Tidings Messenger* and *The Australian Evangel* which later amalgamated. Almost any Pentecostal journal lasting a number of decades will reflect changes in the wider church. There is a record of sermons by great preachers from overseas principally England in the early years and later the USA, but perhaps most interesting is the record of local preachers many of whom were women. The magazines also contained testimonies of healing, opinions on doctrinal controversies, and reports of the growth of the movement. Naturally distinctive beliefs such as 'Baptism in the Spirit' are explained, with a kind of creedal emphasis, and there is the occasional mention of a modernist (usually educated at a prestigious university) being converted (to Pentecostal faith). It is a valuable record of a vital spirituality finding a range of manifestations in the less than welcoming social environment of Australia.

I set out to note some indications of a change in Pentecostal preaching in the 20th Century. This is clear in how broadly psychological concerns are addressed. However, with the exception of melancholy in the early decades there is hardly any use of psychological terms until about twenty years ago.

In general I was surprised and generally impressed with the content of sermons that indicated a healthy balance in dealing with psychological issues. In an early issue of the *Messenger* E. Williams (1935) preached on the 'Valley of Baca', and noted:

The way to the celestial city leads the Christian pilgrim through many valleys, one of which is the Valley of Baca.

The word 'Baca' means weeping. Jesus wept, Paul wept, Jeremiah was the weeping prophet and all good people have wept. Life brings with it many sorrows. But we must not too long remain in the Valley of Baca. The blessed man is he who is but 'passing through'.

There was an acceptance of broadly negative emotions including sadness, regret, melancholy, distrust and doubt (which are listed). The preacher went on to encourage the listener to find the divine blessing 'that God wishes us to find there' and then move on. There is a realistic recognition that the faithful will suffer in this life, but later receive an eternal reward. This emphasis is typical of early fundamentalism which arguably can be seen as healthy in affirming the common experience of suffering.

The next decade was overshadowed by a global war. Naturally this was not a context in which emotions can be readily ignored. Weakness is an opportunity for Divine strength. Zelma Argue (1945) encouraged her listeners to realize that in hours of exhaustion, weariness, trial, sorrow and fear 'God has to get us where we truly look to him'.³ Suffering was accepted within a Christian world view. Dr Jerrett (1943) recalled the decline of his wife with cancer over '13 weeks of suffering' but God sustained him and his family.⁴

The vivid experience of 'Baptism in the Spirit' led to strength in suffering. There was witness to a present experience of the reality of God, but the theological refinement of inaugurated eschatology with its dialectical tension of the 'already' and 'not yet' of the Kingdom of God was not articulated. Good Friday is allowed to be Good Friday without rushing on to Easter.

There were many changes to Australian Pentecostalism in the wake of WW2. This included a greater exposure to believers from the USA who came as soldiers on R&R. Healing evangelists and conference speakers came in the 1950's. Perhaps this contributed to something of a change in the preaching of the 1960's. I could be over highlighting a contrast with the 'Valley of Baca', but E. M. Irish (1963) preached a message 'On the mountain top!!' (yes, two exclamation marks). This

¹ E. Williams, 'Valley of Baca', *Glad Tidings Messenger* 1.4 (Feb 1935), 5.

² Williams, 'Valley of Baca', 5.

³ Z. Argue, 'Out of Weakness we are made Strong', *The Australian Evangel and Glad Tidings Messenger* (Feb 1945), 21.

⁴ H. Jerrett, 'This Sickness for God's Glory', *Glad Tidings Messenger* 9.8 (July 1943), 19-23.

preacher listed the benefits of ascending the mountain 'we can rejoice in the Lord for that he has appointed us to a mountain top experience in his grace and blessing!!'⁵ There was more than a trace of positive thinking in a sermon by G. Rowlands (1964), since if we have a 'thought pattern of defeat we are defeated'⁶. There was mention of the renewing of the mind 'it will take effort and will power. It demands discipline and purpose. However we can do it and God will give us all the help that we need.' (p. 10) Slowly there was a greater recognition of what might be loosely termed psychological states but not with psychological language or diagnoses. For example, there was a description of a woman clearly depressed 'food tasted like saw dust, nights were long; days were hard' with the message to push on. This woman said to her friend, 'The feet go on even though the heart stands still for a while.'" It is interesting to note a shift to the denial of negative feelings in a sermon by F. J. Miles (1965). His theme was joy. He challenged the common view of Jeremiah as a weeping prophet, instead Jeremiah stood for **righteousness**.⁸ This might be a reflection of the prosperity and social stability of the previous decade. Perhaps even a greater optimism which was evident in the sermons. But I think it is more likely that a form of preaching emerged that was impatient with suffering and anything less than being victorious in Christ.

Stan Hunt (1973) wrote an article 'Bad Nerves', clearly relevant to some kind of psychological disorder, in which he described depression (without using the term). He even acknowledged that 'Christians can benefit from professional help and guidance'. However, negative thinking needed correction, 'We need to stop every day and deliberately put out every negative or unkind thought, exchanging them for positive and love **thoughts**'.⁹ In some ways this was a sensitive, if somewhat spiritualized, response to depression. It was becoming more common to find the expression of a formula for healing. Percy Brewster (1973) stated: 'There is nothing mystical about divine healing. It is the gift of God, like salvation, and we appropriate it through simple faith. What

⁵ E. M. Irish, 'On the Mountain Top!!', *The Australian Evangel* 20.5 (May, 1963), 10.

⁶ G. Rowlands, 'Be ye Transformed', *The Australian Evangel* 21.4 (April 1964), 10.

⁷ Annon, 'Permission and Power', *The Australian Evangel*, 21.4 (1964), 22.

⁸ F. J. Miles, 'Jeremiah, Jesus and Joy', *The Australian Evangel* 22.4 (April 1965), 12-13.

⁹ Stan Hunt, 'Bad Nerves', *The Australian Evangel* 30.4 (May, 1973), 4.

God has said he will surely do. Believe it, and healing will **come**.'¹⁰ Pastor Ian Parker (March 1983), of Mt Gambier SA, captured a more human dimension:

After ten years in the ministry I have served God in fields I never intended to include in my journey to heaven. My life has been threatened, I've preached sermons that should never have been preached, I've been a target for criticism – I wondered why people died when I prayed and fasted for their healing – I wondered why people backslid when I did everything in my power to prevent it... I've been confused and ashamed and I too have known the same blues as Jeremiah.¹¹

This spiritual struggle highlighted an expectation that God would provide a miraculous solution, perhaps if he had sufficient faith, but he sensibly concluded that 'God's promises never fail – but his plan for their fulfilment will probably be different from your **imagination**.'¹²

In this decade a number of leaders emerged who were to have a powerful influence upon the AOG movement in Australia. Pastor David Cartledge was one of these key figures. He relocated the national training college to Sydney and re-established it with the name Southern Cross College. Cartledge (October 1983) evaluated the Confession or Prosperity teachings that were coming to Australia and said that these:

contain much that is valid, precious and necessary for an effective Christian life, but through the extreme emphasis placed on the human response in faith, God is dethroned. There is no such thing in this philosophy as the sovereignty of God. It is all up to man. If the needed miracle or blessing does not eventuate it can only be because the person expecting it 'did not have enough faith.'¹³

In a fair and succinct way this comment gets to the heart of things.

In the market place of Pentecostal thought there were different shops all selling different goods. In contrast Ronald Dayman (1984),

¹⁰ Percy Brewster, 'Supernatural Healing', *The Australian Evangel* 30.7 (1973 July), 7.

¹¹ Ian Parker, 'Has God deceived you?', *The Australian Evangel* 40.3 (March 1983), 9.

¹² Parker, 'Has God deceived you?', 10.

¹³ David Cartledge, 'Faith Confusion', *The Australian Evangel* 40.10 (October 1983), 7.

encouraged his listeners, 'You need to refuse defeat and accept the victory... never allow defeat to be part of your thinking for we have the victory.'¹⁴

In the 1990's society was changing and the magazine reflected this in a brighter format. Increasingly psychological issues were addressed. For example the March 1996 issue had articles addressing themes such as selfishness in marriage, victims of emotional abuse and sexuality for youth. What is the healing dynamic? National superintendent Andrew Evans (1996) acknowledged a reality of personal struggle but he expressed the answer: 'If we constantly maintain a Spirit-filled life through fellowship with the Holy Spirit, we will find ourselves conquering those fleshly attitudes and wrong character traits.'¹⁵ Dermot Cottuli (May 1996) gave the now familiar formula, 'The power of God is always released in response to sincere believing prayer.'¹⁶ There was a subtle shift. The sincere believer was increasingly expected to unlock the stores of heaven with the key of faith.

John Warwick (1997) began by acknowledging the obvious fact that Christians will have problems, and he lamented the 'amount of counselling Christians undergo is phenomenal' but they are in God's kingdom, 'Christians have been set free from Satan's grip, chains, death hold and the power of sin. *We are free – absolutely and gloriously!*'¹⁷ He argued for the need to believe God's word, the promises 'Everything for victory belongs to those who are born again... That simple faith of believing the gospel is the same faith God wants us to continue to display throughout our Christian walk.'¹⁸

Brian Houston established Hillsong, now the largest church in Australia, and became national superintendent. In (Sept 1997) he wrote:

Healing of the memories, deliverance, counselling, healing of the iniquities of the third and fourth generations... perhaps they all have some validity but the day comes when you have to take hold of the promises of God's Word, have the wisdom to apply

¹⁴ Ronald Dayman, 'Victory belongs to the Lord', *The Australian Evangel* 41.1 (January 1984), 5.

¹⁵ Andrew Evans, 'Living up to Jesus Example', *Australian Evangel* (March 1996), 50.

¹⁶ Dermot Cottuli, 'The Power of God', *Australian Evangel* (May 1996), 34.

¹⁷ John Warwick, 'Everything we need', *Australian Evangel* (Feb 1997), 31.

¹⁸ Warwick, 'Everything we need', 32.

them to your life, live in the freedom Christ has promised you, and collide with your destiny.'¹⁹

In what was to be the last issue of the *Australian Evangel* Brian Houston (Dec 1997/Jan 1998) wrote, 'Psalm 62:11 says, "Power belongs to God." It may be simple but you need to get this established in your spirit. God just doesn't do powerful things he is power; he is the source of power.'²⁰ He outlined the importance of the various aspects of what it is to be human including right thinking, finding a revelation of grace, and recognising the power of the Holy Spirit. He concluded, 'If you trust in him, you can draw on the power of the living God to fulfil his purpose in your life and overcome all powerlessness and hopelessness.'²¹

The magazine appears to have been representative of what was happening in the AOG and perhaps other Pentecostal denominations in Australia. There was an apparent demise of anything like critical thinking, whether based on Biblical interpretation or theological principles. Readers were exposed to a range of theological views but increasingly without any evaluation. Undoubtedly believers heard many sermons with different emphases, read popular Christian books and possibly attended large conferences with overseas speakers. This provided a rich oral tradition which was largely understood in terms of personal experience and perhaps pragmatically 'what has worked for me'. Even sensible inspirational preaching such as Brian Houston's was probably heard in terms of what the individual was inclined to believe. For example some would have heard 'You can draw on the power of the living God' in terms of the Word of Faith teaching. In this way there was a proliferation of simplistic formulas to guide Christian living and ultimately the promotion of what I think is a shortcut to effectively dealing with unpleasant emotions. It is to the psychological dimension that I will now turn.

2. Psychological Dynamics of the Manic Defence

Mania as an idea goes back to the Greeks who described excitable states. The cyclical nature of mania and depressive states had long been recognised in psychiatry and this was assumed by a number of the early

¹⁹ Brian Houston, 'Collide with your Destiny!' *Australian Evangel*, (Sept 1997), 49-50.

²⁰ Brian Houston, 'Overcoming Powerlessness', *Australian Evangel* (Dec 1997/Jan 1998), 49.

²¹ Houston, 'Overcoming Powerlessness', 50.

analysts.²² Freud (1917) was interested in understanding depression. He wrote also about the dynamics of mania, and how similar it was to melancholia, "The content of mania is no different from that of melancholia, that both disorders are wrestling with the same "complex", but probably in melancholia the ego has succumbed to the complex whereas in mania it has mastered it."²³ The idea of mania having a defensive function was raised by Helen Deutsch (1932) and Bertram Lewin (1932).²⁴ The term 'manic defence' is normally associated with psychoanalyst Melanie Klein and is first mentioned in her paper 'A contribution to the psychogenesis of manic-depressive states'.²⁵ In the simplest of terms it is a psychological way of avoiding the recognition or feeling of a negative emotion. It is perhaps easiest to understand this dynamic when it applies to using hyperactivity or 'feeling up' in place of feeling sadness or guilt.

Mary lost her job because of her erratic attendance. She was struggling financially, due to impulsive spending habits, and it was possible that she might soon be evicted from her shared apartment. The thought of having to return to living with her parents in a small town was anything but appealing. Her friends were surprised to find her mood was unusually cheerful, 'It is God's will for me! I just know I will be offered a better job at a higher salary.'

Mary exhibits emotional immaturity. In this brief vignette there are elements of denial which characterize the manic defence. She does not recognise her role in causing her current problems. This is a lack of

²² S. Rado, 'The Problem of Melancholia', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 9 (1928), 420-438.

²³ S. Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', *Standard Edition* 14 (1917), 237-260, 254.

²⁴ H. Deutsch, 'Melancholic and Depressive States', in *The Psychoanalysis of the neuroses*, (London: Hogarth Press, 1932); Bertram Lewin, 'Analysis and Structure of a transient Hypomania', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 1 (1932), 43-58.

²⁵ M. Klein, 'A contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic Depressive States', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 16 (1935), 145-174, quoted 162. Later analysts including B. Lewin disputed Klein's concepts about mania from a more classical stance. *The Psychoanalysis of Elation*, (New York, W. W. Norton and Co, 1950). He argued that the manic state is a repetition of the infant's mood while being breast fed.

insight and it includes any appreciation of realistic **guilt**.²⁶ But how could it be that she was feeling almost euphoric?

I would speculate that Mary is vulnerable to depression. This might be a factor in her impulsive spending, trying to lift herself from low moods, and dysfunctional work performance. If this is the case then Klein would see the manic defence operating against what she identified as the depressive position. It is a reaction to anxieties about feeling loss or grief. The temporary euphoria is a substitute emotion, in place of the more appropriate grief over her loss of employment and financial stability. The denial includes what needs to be faced about herself and it leads to projecting responsibility onto God.

The manic defence against depressive affect is not the only form this defence takes. There is a broader application. Klein attempted to describe psychological dynamics in infancy and the manic defence can only be understood in the context of her wider theory. The first stage, or what Klein would call a position because it can be returned to again and again, is the Paranoid Schizoid position. This is characterised by primitive psychological processes and occurs naturally in the first year of life. The second is the Depressive position, a later healthier achievement and has been introduced with Mary. The manic defence is a psychological defence against anxieties associated with both positions: it may be in response to a sense of persecution (characteristic of Paranoid Schizoid) or feelings of loss (Depressive).

Robert was a student in a local Bible college associated with a Pentecostal church. He was the most enthusiastic member of the student body, often reading the Word late at night. While he was widely respected by students and faculty, he was not especially liked. He tended to be black and white, very judgemental, and even militant about his belief, 'If you really believe something - speak it out - then God will make it happen' In the first examination period the stress started to show on Robert. He began thinking that other students were talking about him.

Robert is very fragile in psychological terms. He is in danger of a psychotic deterioration. The increase of stress overwhelmed his essentially manic defence against feelings of persecution characteristic of

²⁶ H. Guntrip, 'The Manic Depressive problem in the light of the Schizoid Process', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 43 (1962), 98-112.

the more primitive Paranoid Schizoid position. It is also possible that he was struggling with an inner sense of **deadness**.²⁷

Klein developed Freud's concept of inner objects, which is a way of understanding how we psychologically represent self and others. The representations are connected by relationship patterns involving emotions. For example a battered spouse may have inner representations associated with a self-image of being a victim and feeling helpless. If we think of inner psychological dynamics as played out on a stage, then the manic defence has the script: the loss is denied with the object²⁸ omnipotently restored and idealized.²⁹ The manic restoration of an internal good object is only based in **fantasy**.³⁰ It is not grounded in psychological or external **reality**.³¹ Naturally this psychological reliance on unrealistic processes eventually leads to problems in living.

A short while ago I was teaching mental health professionals about aspects of personality disorder. A Sydney psychiatrist recalled treating a severely depressed patient. She used a hypnotic technique in which he imagined himself soaring like an eagle. This was partially helpful in that the patient reported an elevated mood for about three days after the session. However, he would then need another boost of hypnotic treatment. This was repeated for three sessions but then the psychiatrist was warned by her supervisor to cease this kind of treatment because of an enhanced risk of suicide. The supervisor recognised the manic defence, artificially enhanced by **treatment**³², was masking a very deep and potentially dangerous depression.

²⁷ N. Browne, 'Some enuretic Derivatives in an Adult Analysis', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 67 (1986), 449-457. Also I. M. Kumin, 'Emptiness and its relation to Schizoid Ego Structure', *The International Review of Psychoanalysis* 5 (1978), 207-216.

²⁸ The object is an inner representation of an important person such a parent or sibling.

²⁹ J. Riviere, 'A Contribution to the Analysis of the negative therapeutic Reaction', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 17 (1936), 304-320.

³⁰ J. Wisdom, 'Comparison and development of the psychoanalytic Theories of Melancholia', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 43 (1962), 113-132.

³¹ Hanna Segal, 'A psychoanalytic approach to Aesthetics', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 33 (1952), 196-207, 197. The term manic defence has been widely used in psychoanalysis, more broadly than simply by those who have been influenced by Klein.

³² H. Stewart, 'A comment on the psychodynamics of the hypnotic state', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 36 (1955), 16-26.

3. Hyper-spirituality in Pentecostal Circles

What all this leads to is something that we can readily see in Christian circles. Who hasn't heard countless sermons encouraging the denial of feelings of sadness, loss, or guilt? There is much of the human experience that passes without comment. I have never heard anyone speaking publicly of inner deadness. It is alarming to see an artificial spirituality of 'Happiness in Jesus'. This is not to deny genuine joy or spiritually ecstatic states, but in this case there is no defence and it is more integrative into a believer's life in **Christ**.³³

Some might be tempted ask about the manic defence 'What if it works?' But the defence even fails on pragmatic grounds. The defence leads to a brittle euphoria which barely masks what lies beneath. And we are often surprised when the defence breaks down with a particular individual ending up in a deep depression or a psychotic episode. Some Christians might be tempted to dismiss it as a lack of faith, but the problems are more complex and raise **fundamental** questions about what is encouraged in our Christian culture.

Another form the manic defence takes is hyper-sexualized **activity**.³⁴ Like the nine headed Hydra this takes many forms including the sexual abuse of children, addiction to internet pornography or seeing prostitutes. It has been very visible in the 'fall from grace' of high profile Christian leaders. While popular culture may contribute there are other forces at work, including reliance upon the manic defence.

The manic defence is a psychological short-cut based on denying what should be acknowledged and better integrated in psychological terms. It is hardly surprising that the manic defence, whether spiritualised or not, does not really work. The real challenge for the more neurotic client is to do the work of grief, but if more personality disordered then work towards better self-structure through

³³ This genuine possibility is acknowledged in psychoanalysis, Charles Rycroft, 'Two notes of Idealization, Illusion and Disillusion as normal and abnormal psychological Processes', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 36 (1955), 81-87, quoted 85.

³⁴ Joyce McDougall, 'Primal Scene and sexual Perversion', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 79 (1972), 1217-1220; also 'a rejuvenated erotic life' as noted by S. Akhtar 'Mental pain in the cultural ointment of poetry', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 81 (2000), 229-243, quoted 234. And especially M. Masud Khan, 'Foreskin Fetishism and its relation to Ego Pathology in a male Homosexual', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 46 (1965), 64-80.

psychotherapy. According to Klein this allows a process of repair³⁵ which she understood as a mother after the death of her son.³⁶

4. Conclusion

It is important to question what it is about being in Pentecostal church circles that encourages and maintains the manic defence. It appears to have largely replaced an earlier healthier acknowledgement of suffering and spread as a kind of psychological cancer – now characteristic not only of Pentecostal but Evangelical faith. This is associated with an over-emphasis on a theology of victory, without finding a place for a theology of suffering. In theological terms it is an over-realized eschatology.³⁷

Our culture tends to support the widespread use of the manic defence. Hyperactivity is widely used to ward off facing negative feelings. After the death of a family member, how often do we hear the person say, 'I felt better when I went back to work.' Many preachers are simply Christian motivational speakers. It is hardly surprising that such preachers literally practice what they preach, with predictable results. The real challenge is offer a genuine Christian spirituality rather than encouraging believers to simply to go into hyper-drive. 'Up, up and away?' Hopefully not!

³⁵ M. Klein, 'Mourning and its relation to Manic Depressive States', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 21 (1940), 125-153, quoted 137.

³⁶ J. Sayers, 'Melanie Klein and Mothering: A feminist Perspective', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 16 (1989), 363-376.

³⁷ The larger psychological issue is narcissism, but that will await a later paper. The manic defence is but a facet. Roy Schafer (1970) noted, 'Such terms as neurotic pride, egocentricity, inflated narcissism, infantile ego ideal and manic defence refer to different aspects of, or different theoretical approaches to, the residual yet powerful core of grandiose self-representations people carry forward from early childhood,' R. Schafer, 'The psychoanalytic Illusion of Reality', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 51 (1970), 279-297, quoted 294.

HEROIC LEADERSHIP IN THE WILDERNES, Part I

David C. Hymes

1. Introduction

Although Pentecostalism is said to be a restorationist movement,¹ its weak biblical foundations² which opted for a proof-texting methodology,³ a long term baggage of dispensationalism⁴ and anti-

See Gary B. McGee, "Early Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Tongues as Evidence in the Book of Acts," in *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism* (Peabody, Massachusetts, Hendrickson Press, 1991), 97-99; Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism* Volume 1-to 1941 (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1989) and Charles Nienkirchen, "Conflicting Visions of the Past: The Prophetic Use of History in the Early American Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements," in *Charismatic Community as a Global Culture*, ed. Karla Poewe (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina, 1994), 120-125. Repristinationalism is another term that may be used to describe the movement and its application of biblical truth.

² Typology was a major source for biblical interpretation. See J. Robert Ashcroft, *Ways of Understanding God's Words* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1960), 69-73.

³ The classic proof-texting example in Pentecostal writing is Carl Brumback, *"What Meaneth This?": A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1947).

⁴ See for example Frank M. Boyd, *Ages and Dispensations* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1955), and the use of both Larkin's works and Scofield's Bible. Also Gerald Shepherd's important article: "Pentecostalism and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: An Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship," *Pneuma*, Volume 6:2 (Fall 1984), 5-34.

intellectualism⁵ has caused us to flirt with many cultural fads and theological obscurantism. The most recent fad is the study of leadership in the church and parachurch. The problem that I perceive is not the field itself, although others may question its cross-cultural applicability or credibility from the perspectives of business education or the behavior sciences. My issue is that a lack of in-depth biblical and theological ground tilling has occurred in this field. In the following two-part essay, I would like to at least make one furrow and thereby prepare the soil for others to plant. I will plow in the Pentateuch, focusing especially on the book of Numbers. I will also give a summary-application at the conclusion of the second essay.

The book of Numbers, at first blush, depicts a tribal based extended family that has been given a cultic and military order. However, its social and religious development is a far cry from a neat and orderly world. Chapter 1 quickly clusters the Israelites into clans (לפספוחם) and ancestral houses (לביית אבותם) that form an elite group of chosen (Q, קרוי) leaders who assist (אשר יעמרו אחכם) Moses and Aaron in enlisting⁶ the

⁵ It is important to remember that one of the major architects of Pentecostal theology was Ernest S. Williams, president of Assemblies of God, U.S.A.'s most prestigious Bible school, Central Bible Institute in the years 1929-1931 and again between 1939-1948, had only a eighth grade education. See Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School 1880-1940* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990), 13. Recent Russell Spittler has as stated "Abiding anti-intellectualism is one of our flaws. In the Assemblies of God, when you apply annually for credentials, you have to identify your ministry: pastor, chaplain, missionary, evangelist, other. For years, I had to check "other." I was always an "other" because a teacher is not highly respected [so it's not on the list]. If the Holy Spirit is teaching you, why would you have any regard for this or that teacher? There's a kind of theological independence that scoffs at education. Yet you can't do theology without intellect. You can't." in Madison Trammel and Rob Moll, "Three leaders talk frankly about Pentecostalism: grading the movement: the good, bad, and the unpredictable," *Christianity Today* 50, no. 4 (2006), 41. See also Roger Olson, "Pentecostalism's Dark Side," *Christian Century* 123, no. 5 (2006), 27, where he writes, "endemic to Pentecostalism is a profoundly anti-intellectual ethos. It is manifested in a deep suspicion of scholars and educators and especially biblical scholars and theologians."

⁶ Rolf Knierim and George Coats argues that chapter 1 is, "a REPORT about a society-wide military CONSCRIPTION." Rolf P. Knierim and George W. Coats, *Numbers, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, Volumes IV* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2005), 52-3.

burgeoning⁷ recruits. Only the tribe of Levi is exempt from this military conscription. To them fell the task of porters for the sacral accoutrements and when stationary, to guard (בשמירה) the sacred precincts. All this is coordinated with a prearranged trumpeted series of signals to systematize the bivouacking.⁸ Beneath the façade of this perfectly symmetrical social architecture was an institutional quagmire that only a person of heroic propensity could possibly keep together. This is one of the major thematic trajectories that runs through the book of Numbers as Jeffrey Cohen articulates it, ". . . there is not one portion which does not provide us with some insight into the nature of Moses' leadership and the manifold challenges with which a leader has to contend."⁹

In the following synchronic study of the Masoretic Text of the book of Numbers, I would like to present a sketch of the infrastructure of the "congregation of the Israelites" (בני ישראל) and the exemplary leadership of the heroic Moses, who dealt with a leadership structure that at times was contentious and yet crucial in upholding a vision for a future generation.

2. The Congregation of the Israelites

The primary term that is used to describe the pre-monarchic Israel's social-political structure is עדה. Although קהל makes a few cameo

⁷ The large numbers have been dealt with extensively in commentaries and other scholarly literature. Some significant articles include: Eryl W. Davies, "A Mathematical Conundrum: The Problem of the Large Numbers in Numbers I and XXVI," *VT* 45:4 (1995), 449-469; Heinzerling, Riidiger. "Beleams Ratsel-Die Zählung der Wehrfähigen in Numeri 1 und 26." *ZAW* 111 (1999), 404-415; Heinzerling, Riidiger. "On the Interpretation of the Census Lists by C J Humphreys and G E Mendenhall." *VT* 50:2 (2000), 250-252; Humphreys, C. J. "The numbers of people in the Exodus from Egypt: Decoding mathematically the every large numbers in Numbers I and xxvi." *VT* 48:2 (1998), 196-213; McEntire, M. "A response to Colin J. Humphreys's 'The number of people in the Exodus from Egypt: Decoding mathematically the very large numbers in Numbers I and xxvi.'" *VT* 49 (1999), 262-264; Mendenhall, G. E. "The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26." *JBL* 77 (1958) 52-66; Milgrom, J. "On decoding very large numbers." *VT* 49:1 (1999), 131-132; Wenham, J. W. "Large Numbers in the Old Testament." *TB* 18 (1967) 19-53.

⁸ Numbers 10.1-10.

⁹ Jeffrey M. Cohen, "Leadership in the Book of Numbers," *JBQ* 28, no. 2 (2000), 125.

appearances in the book of Numbers,¹⁰ it is ערה that dominates." Thorkild Jacobsen set the stage for the modern discussion of ערה when he drafted the early scenario of democracy. His stance was that the day to day activities of the primitive states were handled by elders, but at pivotal crises, it was a "provisional and ad hoc"¹² gathering of the people, an assembly, that dealt with the problem." In a later study, Jacobsen analyzes the *Enûma Eliš* with an eye toward a social-political analysis. He makes note of continual political inconsistencies that ultimately bring about crises. Jacobsen writes,

In this conflict stages of progressively greater concentration and permanence of power arise one out of the other: virtual anarchy and private war give way to primitive democracy with an ad hoc leader, the king, chosen in the general assembly when common danger imposes unanimity and concerted action, and this in turn resolves into permanent monarchy with its promise of administrative benefits far beyond merely temporary safety of life and property.¹⁴

The above analysis could well be applied to the biblical history of Israel, in which a post-Judges era would produce a cry for a change from primitive democracy under Samuel and others to a monarchical society. The complexities in both the developing monarchic era and the fully

¹⁰ See Num 14.5, 16.3 and 20.4. It is noteworthy that the קהל is found in negative contexts with all of these verses.

¹¹ See Num 1.2, 16, 18, 53; 3.7; 4.34; 8.9, 20; 10.2, 3; 13.26; 14.1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 27, 35, 36; 15.24, 25, 26, 33, 35, 36; 16.2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26; 17.5, 6, 7, 10, 11; 19.9; 20.1, 2, 8, 11, 22, 27, 29; 25.6, 7; 26.2, 9, 10; 27.2, 3, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22; 27, 2, 3, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22; 31.12, 13, 16, 26, 27, 43; 32.2, 4; 35.12, 24, 25.

¹² Thorkild Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *ZA* 18 (1957), 104; Quoted in Jacob Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," *JQR*, 69 (1978), 66. See also Jacobsen's earlier article, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2 (1943).

¹³ A challenging alternative view on the birth and development of democracy, with the ancient Athenians as the originators is presented in Paul Woodruff, *First Democracy: The Challenge of an Ancient Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 170.

matured dynastic kingdom of Judah are quite different from that portrayed in the book of Numbers.¹⁵ Here in Numbers the primitive democracy expressed by the ערה is maintained under the watchful eyes of Moses.

The usage of ערה, as analyzed by Jacob Milgrom, follows the standard Ancient Near Eastern pattern as depicted by Jacobsen and others. Milgrom writes concerning the biblical perspective in the pre-monarchic era:

In sum, the מו can only be conceived as an ad hoc emergency body called together by the tribal chieftains whenever a national trans-tribal issue arose. However, once the monarchy was firmly established, there was no further use of the מו and it disappears. Thus the phenomenon of the sporadic assembly of the pre-monarchic city-state described by Jacobsen for ancient Mesopotamia, though separated from Israel by vast stretches of time and space, is *mutatis mutandis* duplicated by the history and function of the Biblical ערה.¹⁶

Earlier in his study, Milgrom also indicated that "the ערה can be equivalent to all the Israelites, to the adult males, or to their national representatives."¹⁷ The "all Israelites" often included both women and children along with men of all ages. In the book of Numbers this full range is evident.

Due to the ad hoc nature of the ערה, the texts cluster around major turning points and leadership struggles. For example the use of ערה in Num 13.26; 14.1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 27, 35, 36 clusters around the scout report and the response, not of the general populous which would have been expressed by the phrase בני ישראל¹⁸ or some combination with עם,

¹⁵ A biblical perspective on leadership needs to work through the different social-political contexts that are present in the different texts, before one can say that they have established a biblical view/s. Needless to say this study cannot deal with these other layers and it would potentially be another area of future study.

¹⁶ Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," 75.

¹⁷ Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," 70.

¹⁸ Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, Vol. 4A (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 130, differentiates the two terms and defines the בני ישראל as "a more widely used ethnographic designation in which *bēn* 'son' functions to express group affiliation."

but the ערה. The ערה here, differentiates this crisis event from those in chapter 11 (11.1-3, העם; 11.4-35, והאספסוף¹⁹ and בני ישראל), where the organized opposition against Moses and divine guidance is illegitimate and spontaneous or charismatic without the sanction of the "primitive democratic" system. Chapter 13.25-14.45 on the other hand, begins with the legitimate gathering of the legal body for such occasions, that is the ערה, along with Moses and Aaron. There would have been greater symmetry in this pericope if the scouts had returned to Moses first, however the discontinuity may be intended to accentuate the intensity of the rebellion (14.9, מרד¹⁹) of the legitimate legal assembly.

It would seem that a valid study of leadership in the book of Numbers, necessitates an awareness of the role of the ערה before applying a characterized and synthetic picture of leadership as represented in the life of Moses.

Furthermore, the catalogue of technical terms dealing with social stratification needs to at least be mentioned. The book of Numbers as well as other pre-monarchic biblical texts refer to the following: "tribe (שבט) ⇔ clan (משפחה) ⇔ household (בית) ⇔ individual (גבר)."²⁰ Both the words for "tribe" and "clan" have parallel terms: שבט for מטה and אלף for משפחה, with the phrase "בית אבות" also meaning "clan." Valid leaders within specified spheres of influence are indicated by each of these social stratification terms. A full differentiation cannot be accomplished in this paper. Instead the tribal leader or "chieftain" will be investigated next.

3. Tribal Leaders

Leadership in the book of Numbers is not vested in just crisis based assemblies, nor monopolized by Moses or even a Moses-Aaron-Miriam triumvirate. It is a rich and variegated hierarchy that is both institutional and charismatic, legitimate and at times illegitimate. The tribal leadership infrastructure was both institutional and legitimate. The words that depict

¹⁹ The אספסוף is probably an example of a charismatic and illegitimate leadership. Contrary to the Septuagintal reading which identifies this group with those in Exod 12.38, the זון and the מ use a unique term here. As Levine, *Numbers* 1-20: *A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 102, indicates it is a reduplicated form of אסף which generally translates into "to gather in." Levine implies the possibility that אסף may indicate the gathering of "fighting forces" and therefore the text is dealing with a military-junta like coup d'état.

²⁰ Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," 79.

this general level of leadership in the book of Numbers include: ערה, nan, אלף, בית אבות / אלף, נשיא and ראש. These words are combined, recombined and nuanced throughout the book. Some of the pericopes can be clustered, while others remain orphaned.

The two terms נשיא and ראש may be used in contrast to the designation זקן. In the book of Numbers זקן is used to indicate "a national body comprised of seventy elders acting as a council."²¹ While נשיא and ראש tend to be used interchangeably with a "slight difference between the two terms, not in substance but in syntax: ראש is generally used when referring to the leader's office within a clan, whereas נשיא will refer to his office vis-à-vis his tribe."²² On the other hand, ראש according to J. R. Bartlett's study was used in early pericopes "in a tribal context of men exercising leadership in military and judicial matters."²³ Speiser studied the early usage of נשיא and concluded that "a nāšī' was someone elected to that position by the appropriate council,"²⁴ thereby emphasizing the office's representative role.

The first block of leaders designated as נשיא and ראש, that we can cluster, are those that are repeated by name in 1.4-15, 2.3-31, 7.12-83 and 10.14-27. Their names are for the most part unique to these pericopes²⁵ and show signs of great antiquity,²⁶ due to the lack of the

²¹ Moshe Weinfeld, "Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IOS* 7 (1977), 65. Conrad, "זקן zāqēn; זקן zōqēn; זקנה ziqniūh; זקנים zē qunūm," in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Volume IV, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1980), 123. writes, "The elder is . . . a member of a special committee representing a specific, clearly defined social community; he must be thought of primarily as the holder of an office, not the representative of a particular age group."

²² Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," 80.

²³ J. R. Bartlett, "The use of the word ראש as a title in the Old Testament," *V/T* 19, no. 1 (1969), 1.

²⁴ E. A. Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical Nāšī'," *CBQ* 25, no. 1 (1963), 114.

²⁵ Only Naḥshon and 'Arminadab are repeated in the biblical traditions. See George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1903), 6.

²⁶ See Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 53-4 and Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *In Search of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 69.

Tetragrammaton as a theophanic element in their names. Their specific tasks include: 1) assisting Moses and Aaron (אשר יעמדו אתכם, 1.5aβ) in the census taking (שאו את־ראש, 1.2a) and in fact they were in charge of the conscription (הם העמידים על־הפקדים, 7.2b); 2) stationing themselves among their respective camps (דגל מנה, 2.3aβ) which would be the basis for the decampment and bivouac (2.34); 3) offering a series of gifts and dedicatory offerings (לחנכת, 7.11b); 4) commanding the tribes as they were to move out (ועל־עבאי, 10.14b).

The first task hints at a hierarchical infrastructure in which these tribal leaders are subservient to Moses and Aaron as they fulfill the divine command to take a census. This may be argued from the use of the preposition *nu* along with the verb *עמד*.²⁷ However, the fact that 7.2b describes these same tribal leaders as being in charge²⁸ of the census process mitigates their subservience. Instead a fully delegated process is indicated. This is crucial since the census taking plays a significant role in chapters 1-4 and 26 and therefore providing an important stitching in the fabric of the book of Numbers. Following the studies of E. A. Speiser on the use of census in Mari and its application to ancient Israel,²⁹ Benjamin E. Scolnic identified the purpose of this census as military. Furthermore, "records are the goal, so carefully-gathered lists are essential. The lists are created by place names and personal names in Mari, and by tribal (or clan) names and personal names in Israel."³⁰ Scolnic, combines Speiser's studies with the insights of Jean Robert Kupper and adds a purificatory role to the census.³¹ He writes, "there is something about a census, at least as described by Ex 30:12, which requires an expiatory ritual or monetary payment for assurance that there

²⁷ See Genesis 45.1 which refers to Joseph's attendants.

²⁸ Here the preposition *על* is crucial. Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, Vol. 4A (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 254, writes, ". . . characterizing the twelve chieftain as 'the ones in charge of the musters,' literally, 'who stand over (*hā'ōmedim 'al*) the musters," recalls Num 1:5, 'āšer ya'amdū 'itkem, literally, "who shall stand with you."

²⁹ Ephraim Avigdor Speiser, "Census and Ritual expiation in Mari and Israel," in *Oriental and Biblical Studies*, ed. Jacob J. Finkelstein and Moseh Greenberg (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 171-186.

³⁰ Benjamin Edidin Scolnic, *Theme and Context in Biblical Lists*, Studies in the History of Judaism, No. 119 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995), 59.

³¹ Scolnic, *Theme and Context in Biblical Lists*, 59.

will be no plague."³² The redemption principle in Num 3.40-51 may be viewed as functioning in a similar manner. If this line of reasoning can be sustained, the tribal leaders may have had an apotropaic function.

The tribal leaders' military function is further witnessed in the second and fourth tasks enumerated above. The orderliness in the encampment and militaristic advancement is depicted as within the parameters of their responsibilities. It is possible to link these passages to 10.1-13, which precedes the last pericope in this cluster. Here, the two silver trumpets call the tribal leadership together in 10.4 (אליך הנשיאים ראשי אלפי ישראל) and then spell out the order of decampment according to the blast.³³

The appearance of the tribal leaders in the narrative context that chapter 7 establishes is paradigmatic. As Eryl W. Davies indicates, "there can be little doubt that the object of its inclusion was to emphasize the unstinting generosity of the tribal leaders of old. . ."³⁴ a role model for future generations. The leadership role of these chieftains is obviously beyond the *Zählgehilfen* rubric that Kellermann subsumes them under.³⁵

Numbers 1.16 is an important verse for understanding this tribal leadership. It reads:

אלה (קרוי, Q) קריאי העדה	These were called ones of the congregation
נשיאי משוח אבותם	the leaders of their ancestral tribes,
ראשי אלפי ישראל הם	the heads of the divisions of Israel.

Both the Qere reading (קרוי, Qal passive participle) and the Kethib reading (קריאי, masculine plural adjective) may be understood as passive.³⁶ So readings such as "those called" or "elected" of the community may be contrasted with a leadership role that would be under

³² Scolnic, *Theme and Context in Biblical Lists*, 59.

³³ See my paper "An Introduction and Experiment in Pluriform Textual Studies: Numbers 10.1-10ff." for a comparison of the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuchal texts. The paper can be downloaded from <http://hebrewscriptsandmore.com/APTS-Subpages/BOT640/Documents/Numbers-10-AnExperiment.pdf>

³⁴ Eryl W. Davies, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Numbers* (London & Grand Rapids: Marshall Pickering & Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995), 70.

³⁵ Diether Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1.1 bis 10.10* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970), 6-7.

³⁶ Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1.1 bis 10.10*, 6. "Die Form קריאי kann sowohl aktiven wie passiven Sinn haben. . . ."

the direct appointment of Moses and/or Aaron. If this is the case, then the 250 Israelite leaders that rose up against Moses and Aaron in Num 16.1-4 and Dathan and Abiram (26.9) were of the same elected status, i.e., legitimate leaders. Needless to say then, the 12 in chapters 1, 2, 7 and 10 were only a small portion of the larger leadership infrastructure in the tribes. Furthermore, the legitimacy of the leader does not guarantee proper submission to divine guidance.

The most dramatic example of legitimate institutional leadership failure can be seen in the scout narrative of chapters 13-14.³⁷ Here, in the typical Mosaic pattern of obedience, Moses follows YHWH's command to send men out to scout the land which was to be given to the בני ישראל (13.2, 3). Each was to be a tribal leader (13.2ב כל נשיא; 13.3ב כלם אנשים ראשי בני ישראל), so they were legitimate institutional leaders. In fact, parodying the named chieftains of chapters 1, 2, 7, and 10, they are individually named. With the exception of Joshua, which the narrator indicates as an altered name, the chieftains do not have the theophanic Tetragrammaton in their names. Also, the list begins with Reuben like Num 1 and 26, in contrast to Num 2, 7, 10 and 34 which begins with Judah.³⁸ As tribal leaders they could call for the עדה to assemble to meet in the primitive democratic mode. However, the result was failure due to their covenant unfaithfulness in the form of rebellion.³⁹ The Masoretic Text expresses the words of rebellion as: "We are not able to go up against the people, for it is (they are) stronger than us." (13.31) It is interesting to note that Jewish scholars from the medieval period had found the unpointed text as indicating an even greater level of rebellion. The comparative preposition and its suffix had been pointed to read: ממנו which is a 1st person plural, i.e., "than us." However, in an unpointed text the same consonants could be read as "than he." Rashi writes, "They said

³⁷ Scout narratives have a comparable narrative pattern that is helpful in analyzing the texts. See A. Malamat, "The Danite Migration and the Pan-Israelite Exodus-Conquest: A Biblical Narrative Pattern," *Biblica* 51 (1970), 1-16 and Jacob Milgrom, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 390-91.

³⁸ Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 352.

³⁹ Norbert Lohfink, "Original Sins in the Priestly Historical Narratives," in *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 110-12, indicates that the sins of the political leaders of Israel in the P-source was to lead the entire community of Israel into slandering of the land.

this, - if this were at all possible, i.e., if one may be permitted to say so of God - with reference to the Omnipresent ממנו, stronger than "He"; they thus uttered blasphemy."⁴⁰

Numbers 14.4 continues the depth of the paradox, by having the members of the עדה suggest the choosing of another ראש and heading back to Egypt. Once again, a legitimate action by the ad hoc assembly, however the special, atypical status of Moses⁴¹ was not recognized, nor was "majority rule" the answer to the "rejection" of YHWH (14.1 lap, ער- ועד-אנה and their "not believing" in YHWH (14.11ba, לא-יאמינו כי). It is interesting to note that the forgiveness that Moses attempts to gain is not for the עדה or the unfaithful chieftains, but for the עם. Even after forgiveness is extended to the עם, the עדה is under judgment as can be seen in 14.27, 35 and 36, while the unfaithful tribal leaders "who caused" the עדה to complain against him," died unceremoniously by a plague.

The leadership infrastructure of the book of Numbers therefore implies a vast pyramid of responsibilities and spheres of authority whereby tasks are truly delegated. On the other hand, these chieftains/tribal leaders may err or even participate in sedition against Moses and/or Aaron, along with a rejection of divine fidelity. It should be noted that both the עדה and tribal leaders who were legitimate within the social-political infrastructure of the pre-monarchic community were immediately judged over against the forgiveness offered to the עם.

4. Elders & the 70 Elders of Moses

The elder system is another component within the hierarchical infrastructure of the pre-monarchical community of Israel depicted in the book of Numbers. Although the noun זקן may derive from the word "beard"⁴² and "a third of the occurrences has the meaning" old. . . . Most often by far the noun *zāqēn* is used in the specialized sense of "elder."⁴³ Hanoch Reviv has compared the terms ראש/ראשים and זקן/זקנים and

⁴⁰ M. Rosenbaum and A. M. Silbennann, ed. *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary translated into English and Annotated: Numbers* (Jerusalem: The Silberman Family, 1973), 65.

⁴¹ See Numbers 12.6-8 and the discussion below.

⁴² Reading the Qere which is a causative (Hiphil), ויליט

⁴³ Conrad, "זָקֵן *zāqēn*; זָקֵן *zōqēn*; זִקְנָה *ziqnāh*; זָקֵן *zāqēn*," 122.

⁴⁴ Conrad, "זָקֵן *zāqēn*; זָקֵן *zōqēn*; זִקְנָה *ziqnāh*; זָקֵן *zāqēn*," 123.

established an important clarification of terms, especially in Numbers and Chronicles.

... "heads" were the leaders (the "elders") at the sub-tribal and settlement levels, or parallel to the "chiefs" at the tribal level. However, the "elders are invariably second in rank to the "head" in the sense of "chief", when these terms are both mentioned in a particular context. Consideration of the titles assigned to the "chiefs", in the sense of tribal heads, such as "heads of fathers", "heads of fathers' houses", "heads of the people of Israel", implies that the individual tribal chiefs came from the ranks of the elders.⁴⁵

Earlier in his study, Reviv adds another important insight, that in the זקן/ראש relationship, the term ראש is used in the Bible when referring to an individual member of the institution of the "elders", in place of "elder" (זקן), which is not used in this sense in the singular form.⁴⁶ This may very well mean that the social-political authority of the sub-tribal leadership is vested in the collective "elders" rather than the individual "elder." It is only the individual elder who has been singled out as a tribal leader/chieftain that has authority individually.

A case of collective sub-tribal eldership activity is seen in the interesting Zelophehad's daughters hearings (27.1-11; 36.1-12). The difficult judicial ruling concerning the property rights of the daughters of Zelophehad is deliberated before Moses, Eleazar the new priest, the tribal leadership (הגשיאים) and the whole עדה (27.2). The ruling comes via divine fiat in favor of the daughters. However, in Num 36.1 a sub-tribal elder (ראשי האבות למשפחה), in this case ראש is used with "clan" along with the term אבות to identify the elders. They then bring a counter-claim before Moses and the tribal leadership. Here, as is expected the eldership approaches as a collective and receives a hearing that mitigates the initial ruling.

The Pentateuch as a whole has several important sections that deal with eldership and its development: Exod 18.12-27; 24.1-11; Num 11.16-17, 24-30 and Deut 1.9-17. However, it is difficult to produce a consistent synthesis from these texts. Reviv bemoans that "the written sources are not homogeneous. There are difference of approach, argumentation, and background which reflect different conditions and

⁴⁵ Hanoch Reviv, *The Elders in Ancient Israel: A Study of a Biblical Institution* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1989), 21.

⁴⁶ Reviv, *The Elders in Ancient Israel: A Study of a Biblical Institution*, 15.

indicate different dates of composition."⁴⁷ Reviv in fact, concludes that the Exod 18.13-27 "reflects the time of David, prior to the rebellion of Absalom,"⁴⁸ Num 11.16-25 is "related to the establishment of high court in Jerusalem in the days of Jehoshaphat,"⁴⁹ while Deut 1.9-17 "suits the period of the reigns of Hezekiah or Josiah."⁵⁰ When attempts are made to present a unified picture of eldership in the Pentateuch, it is the fact that they do not seem to play an "independent role"⁵¹ that is significant. In fact the elders "are silent representatives of the people, who are summoned or instructed by Moses, or appear alongside him, without ever developing any independent initiative."⁵²

The interpretative quagmire may be simplified by first realizing that the numbers of elders were large, having naturally developed in the social infrastructure of the clan, a sub-tribal leadership. Even the idea of an "institution of a council of seventy attached to a ruler is well attested in the ancient Near East."⁵³ Passages such as Exod 4.29 and 12.21 indicated that the biblical tradition acknowledged the eldership strata of Israelite leadership before the above four pericopes. Secondly, the four pericopes may depict changes or special utilizations of the clan eldership.

Exod 18.22, for example, proposes that the elders who qualified could function as judges

⁴⁷ Hanach Reviv, "The Traditions Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel: Significance and Dating," *ZAW* 94 (1982), 566. J. Buchholz, *Die Altesten Israels im Deuteronomium*, Göttingen Theologische Arbeiten, no. 36 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), argues that the phrase "elders of Israel" has its theological foundations in the Deuteronomic historians or Ezekiel.

⁴⁸ Reviv, "The Traditions Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel: Significance and Dating," 575. R. Knierim, "Exodus 18 und die Neuordnung der mosaischen Gerichtsbarkeit," *ZAW* 73 (1961), 161-62 identified the Jehoshaphat period for Exod 18.

⁴⁹ Reviv, "The Traditions Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel: Significance and Dating," 575.

⁵⁰ Reviv, "The Traditions Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel: Significance and Dating," 575.

⁵¹ Conrad, "זקן *zāqēn*; זקן *zōqēn*; זקנה *ziqnāh*; זקנים *z'qunīm*," 129.

⁵² Conrad, "זקן *zāqēn*; זקן *zōqēn*; זקנה *ziqnāh*; זקנים *z'qunīm*," 129.

⁵³ Milgrom, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers*, 87.

feared God (יראי אלהים), were trustworthy men (אנשי נהו) and hated gain⁵⁵ (שנאי בצע). The men are then made to be rulers (שֹׁרֵטִים) with varying degrees of responsibility.⁵⁶ Pietro Bovati, focusing on the function and role of judges and their interrelationship with such terms as z'qēnîm, šārîm, and melek, etc., writes, "the role of the judge was not exercised indiscriminately by everybody, but rather by those recognized as having some authority (of government): in accordance with spheres of competence and in accordance with the historical evolution of (civil or military) political authority, jurisdiction belonged to different people."⁵⁷ Bovati also indicates that since there was a fundamental problem with a singularity of leadership, this problem was "solved by the creation of a *corps of judges* (Exod 18.22-26; Deut 1.16-17), which was not, however, a 'separate organ' endowed with autonomy within its sphere of competence, but rather an organic group of people to whom a measure of power was delegated for minor cases. The 'judges' were or became 'chiefs' in Israel; they were recognized as having received an authority that was also jurisdictional, in accordance with a well-defined hierarchical ladder."⁵⁸

Exod 24.1-11 depicts a different function that is more social-religious in nature (24.1b "worship at a distances" (והשתחויהם מרחק)). The chosen group are called "seventy from among the elders of Israel" (שבעים מזקני ישראל), which seems to lack specificity. The sacral meal (24.11), the vision of "the God of Israel" (24.10), along with the covenant rituals preformed by Moses are more central to this pericope.⁵⁹ There is

writes, "IS hayi can connote a warrior, a rich man or a citizen of deserved respect and social influence. While the last dominates here, the judges also require physical stamina and material prosperity."

⁵⁵ Propp, *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 632. "That is, immune to bribery because of their wealth."

⁵⁶ Jonathan Magonet, "The Korah Rebellion," *JSOT* 24 (1982), 8. Magonet give a summary of H. S. Nahmani's discussion concerning Moses' reinstatement the "elders" over the military and then their judiciary authority.

⁵⁷ Pietro Bovati, *Re-Establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOT Supplement Series, no. 105, trans. Michael J. Smith (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 177.

⁵⁸ Bovati, *Re-Establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible*, 179-80.

⁵⁹ Shigehiro Nagano, "The Elders of Israel in Exodus 24.9-11," *AJBI* 19 (1993), 23-29. Nagano gives an extended discussion of three major themes in the

no indication that the seventy here are those who reappear in the narrative sequence of Numbers 11.16-30.⁶⁰ All in all this text seems to refer to another very different group of elders selected especially for this event that was strongly religious in function.

Num 11.16-30, the main "elders of Israel" passage in the book of Numbers, presents another different group of leaders with a specific role and function that differs from the preceding texts. I argue this in spite of the fact that there are many links between the two passages. Stephen L. Cook has given an extended list:

They share the motif of the burden of the people on Moses, which he cannot bear "alone" (Num 11:14, 17; Exod 18:18), the idea of a selection of leaders from among the people for the relief of Moses (Num 11:16; Exod 18:21, 25), the identical clause וְשָׂאוּ אִתָּךְ ("they will share your load"; Num 11:17; Exod 18:22), and a report that Moses carried out the recommended decentralization of his office (Num 11:24-25; Exod 18:27). . . .

Exod 18:13-27 and Num 11:14-30 must be connected. . . . Knierim's objection that Numbers 11 deals with prophetic, not judicial, issues does not carry weight. . . . Numbers 11 involves the reinforcement of the leadership role of lineage heads in Israel. It is specifically the people's "elders and officers" that are singled out to be Mosaic leaders (Num 11:16). And the leadership role of Israel's elders had a significant judicial component, which would be presupposed by the ancient hearers of Numbers. Thus, the tradition of Moses' relief through the appointment of Mosaic elders/judges should be accepted as a common thread linking Numbers 11 and Exodus 18, although the judicial aspect of the tradition was only stressed explicitly in the later text.⁶¹

passage, i.e., the covenant making meal, the vision of God in the theophany, and the festive worship of God.

⁶⁰ Nagano, "The Elders of Israel in Exodus 24.9-11," 18. Nagano attempts to connect Exod 24.9-11, Ezek 8.11 and Num 11.16ff in light of the 'seventy' elders. Although he, speculates about the term "seventy" being used as a symbolic representation of a "political ruling body," in the Old Testament, ultimately nothing can be definitively identified between the three texts.

⁶¹ Stephen L. Cook, "The Tradition of Mosaic Judges: Past Approaches and New Direction," in *On the Way to Nineveh: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*, ed. Stephen L. Cook and S. C. Winters (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 291.

Cook's observation concerning the motif of the burden sharing should probably be viewed as a strong point of contact between the two texts,⁶² however the tasks which the "elders of Israel" will preform seem to be quite different. The clear indication that in Exod 18 a judicial role is being played, while there is a complete absence of this in Num 11 is telling. Furthermore, in contrast to the rather specific qualifications of Exod 18.22, Num 11.16 only indicates that the helpers of Moses be known by Moses to be "elders of the people and their שְׂרָרִי. The latter qualification is an interpretative crux that is difficult to interpret. Baruch Levine gives the following standard background to the word:

In Hebrew usage, šōṭerîm are so called primarily because they issue written documents or actually write them. This definition emerges for the Akkadian cognate, šatāru 'to write,' as well as from Aramaic šetār 'written document'. A title similar to Hebrew šōṭēr does not, however, occur either in Akkadian or Aramaic, as far as we know. These same officials figure in the narratives of Exodus and in the laws of Deuteronomy. In 2 Chr 26.11, šōṭēr is synonymous with sōpēr 'scribe.'⁶³

Moshe Weinfeld capitalizes on this scribal aspect and offers the following as a contextualized function of such a group:

The functions of the šōṭēr attached to the judge may be clearly enumerated. The judge was certainly in need of a *secretary* for recording, a *constable* for executive-punitive measures, and a *messenger* or *attendant* for rendering service to the court. In ancient Egypt these functions are clearly illustrated on the wall-drawings: in a scene of the judgment hall, shown on the walls of the tomb of Rekhmire, vizier of Thutmose III, we see rows of scribes on one side and an accused bring led by constables to the judgment on the other. Another scene depicts the accused brought before the court on the right side, and three men flogging the accused on the left.

⁶² Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, 110-11, argues that v. 17b is an editorial addition that secondarily attaches the present text to Exod 18. Once v. 17b is removed and along with v. 11-15 from the flow of 11.16ff. the connection that Cook argues for disappears. However, this level of textual manipulation is highly questionable.

⁶³ Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 323-24.

These functions are documented in texts from the New Egyptian Kingdom, and especially in those from Deir el Medineh. . . .⁶⁴

Although etymologically the "writing" or "scribal" aspect of the term is dominant, its biblical usage moves beyond a "record keeper." Koehler, Baumgartner and Stamm notes that "according to its usage and literary context it has the sense of civil servant, office holder, and in the plural officials, **administrators**."⁶⁵ It is especially the Exod 5.6, 10, 15, 15, 19 passages with the "foreman over the labour gangs"⁶⁶ that may be **helpful** here. Contextually Moses needed assistance with the people who were complaining and it is just these foremen that could help in the day to day leadership issues. This would clearly differentiate the Exod 18 and Num 11 texts.

Another crucial difference between the two pericopes is the manner in which the elders are initiated. In Num 11.16 they are brought to the "tent of meeting" and then stationed there together with Moses. Then, verse 17:

וירדתי ודברתי עמך שם	Then I will descend and talk with you there
ואצלתי מן הרוח אשר עליך	and I will take some of the spirit which is on you
ושמתי עליהם	and I will put it on them;
ונשאו אתך במשא העם	and they will bear the burden of the people with you
ולא תשא אתה לבדך	so that you will not bear it alone

Verse 25 is the parallel text that indicates that all was accomplished:	
וירד יהוה ׀ וירבר אליו	Then YHWH descended in a cloud and talked with him
ויאצל מן הרוח אשר עליו	and he took some of the spirit which was on him
ויחן על-שבעים איש הזקנים	and he put it on the seventy men, the elders
ויהי כנוח עליהם הרוח	and when the spirit rested on them,
ויחננו ולא יספו	they prophesied but did not continue

The texts above bristle with problems. What is the nature of the mi that is referred to here? Is it the empowering רוח יהוה/אלהים seen quite often in the Deuteronomistic Historians work or a term used in a non-technical

⁶⁴ Weinfeld, "Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," 84.

⁶⁵ Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, M. E. J. Richardson, and Johann Jakob Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Volumes 1-4 combined in one electronic edition (Leiden & New York: E. J. Brill, 1999).

⁶⁶ Koehler, Baumgartner, Richardson, and Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*.

sense focusing more on Moses than any divine origin?⁶⁷ What is the nature of the verb *אצל* and what effect does it have on the *mi* that is on Moses? Are the verbs *נתן* and *שים/שום* used as verbs of appointment?⁶⁸ These and many other questions are fodder for future studies on this well traversed pericope.

An observation that I would like to make here, however is to focus on the symmetry of the two above verses and what this could tell us about the pericope and the function of these 70 elders. First, it is clear that 17aα, aβ and ay are in general harmony with 25aα, aβ, ay. It is with 17bα-β and 25bα-β that an interesting interpretative paralleling may be taking place. Does *ויהי כנוח עליהם הרוח* parallel *עם במשא אחר*? This is how the Masoretic accentuation would have us interpret the consonantal text. The *mi* resting on them is parallel to the burden of sustaining the people. This would mean that the *mi* is not the *יהוה/אלהים* *mi*, but rather the gifting or the responsibility to lead the people. That the elders would then prophecy (*ייתנבאו*) aligns with the fact that Moses received a calling in the pattern of the classical prophets in Exod 3-4 along with his specific commission to deliver the people. It is the fact that the prophesying is understood as a one-time experience, over against the elders' new responsibility of shouldering the people along with Moses that seems strange. The puzzle continues with the Eldad and Medad incident of 11.26-29. Here prophesying in the encampment (*ויהנבאו במחנה*, 11.26; *מחנכבאים במחנה*, 11.27) is obviously seen as a problem by Joshua. It is one that Joshua wants stopped (*כלאים*, 11.28), which would make them like the other elders in 11.25, since they were part of the originally registered (*ויהמה בכתבים*) group. Within the narrative, Moses interprets Joshua's

⁶⁷ See my article "The Spirit of God in the Old Testament," *Koudan* (1992). It has been reformatted and published online at <http://hebrewscripturesandmore.com/CV/Pdf-Articles/SpiritofGodintheOT.pdf>. At the present time I am of the opinion that the *mi* should not be identified with the *יהוה/אלהים* *mi*, but rather a more general descriptive use of the term to identify Moses gifting in general. Ze'ev Weisman, "The Personal Spirit as Imparting Authority," *ZAW* 93, no. 2 (1981), 231, states, "The spirit that is conveyed to them from the spirit that is on Moses is meant to have them partake of Moses' authority while also subjecting them to it in a sacred ceremony in which the main performer is God himself."

⁶⁸ When *נתן* and *שים/שום* are used as verbs of appointment they are usually followed by an accusative with rank. See Bruce K. Walkte and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 175. They cite 1 Sam 8.1; Isa 3.7; Deut 1.15 as examples. I would add Jer 1.5c.

demand as possibly being jealous on Moses' behalf (*המקנא תאה לי*). Then Moses focuses, not on the eldership that will assist him in shouldering the burden of the people, but offers the possibility that the whole *nu* of YHWH be appointed prophets (*ומי יתן כל-עם יהוה נביאים*).⁶⁹ The final *כי* clause could be read as a temporal clause, i.e., "when YHWH would give his spirit on them."⁷⁰ Or possibly an asseverative, which originally followed an oath, "i.e., "YHWH will indeed give his spirit on them."

Although a quick supposition may be that the *כל-עם יהוה* is synonymous with *בני ישראל*, Levine indicates that the usage of this phrase may be once again slanted toward governance and leadership issues. He finds that in Judg 5.11 and 2 Sam 1.12 the phrase is military. Then he writes, "elsewhere the context pertains to governance, referring to the anointing of a king over all of the people (2 Sam 6:21; 2 Kgs 9:6). The theme of governance also informs Num 17:6, 1 Sam 2:24, and even Zeph 2:10."⁷²

Another issue that stands out is the possibility that this passage is referring to a larger non-institutional form of governance in which propheticism performs a social-political service of checks that balance the institutional forms of leadership. The text of Num 12.6bα may be translated, "If there should be a prophet of yours, of Yahweh. (*נביאכם יהוה*)"

⁶⁹ See note 62 above. Here the grammatical construction, unlike 11.16 and 11.25, follows the standard for the verb of appointment and the necessary accusative, i.e., "prophets." Furthermore the first clause in 11.29 is an optative clause that utilizes an exclamatory question introduced by the *מי יתן* formula. B. Jongeling, "L'expression *my ytn* dans l'ancien Testament," *VT* 24, no. 1 (1974), 40, presents two conclusions about this formula: "1. L'expression *my ytn* est toujours suivie d'un complement d'objet, soit un objet nominal, soit une proposition-objet. 2. Pour etabli le sens de l'expression dans tel ou tel contexte il faut tenir compte des diverses nuances de signification du verbe *ym*." Therefore the verb of appointment nuance should be considered in this clause: "Would that all the people of Yahweh be appointed prophets!" or as a nominal clause "I wished that all the people of the Lord were prophets!"

⁷⁰ The LXX has *ὅταν ὁ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἔπ' αὐτούς*, which translates as "whenever the Lord would give his spirit on them."

⁷¹ See Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*. 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 9449.

⁷² Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with introduction and Commentary*, 326.

הַיְהוָה)⁷³ This implies that prophets were understood to exist in the narrative depiction of the wilderness. If the poem, 12.6-8 was not original to its present context, then the 2nd person plural may refer to the *ישראל* בני, some leader who utilized a prophetic group not unlike Moses' unique group of seventy elders in 11.16-30 or following the context, specifically Aaron and Miriam.⁷⁴ Either way, this text aligns with 11.29 and offers a picture of a large scale prophetic movement.

5. Rebellious Leaders: Korah, Dathan & Abiram, and the 250

The rebellion of Korah depicted in chapters 16-17 plays an archetypal role when it comes to rebellious leaders. The two chapters however are not easy to analyze. The text has become a magnet, gathering several other rebellious factions.⁷⁵ Milgrom enumerates the four major rebellions as: "the Levites against Aaron; Dathan and Abiram against Moses; the tribal chieftains against Aaron; and the entire community against Moses and Aaron."⁷⁶ I will break up the following discussion according to these four rebellions rather than developing a hypothetical redactional analysis.⁷⁷

⁷³ See my discussion of this stich in David C. Hymes, "Numbers 12: Of Priests, Prophets, or "None of the Above," *AJBI* 21 (1998), 11. The article may be downloaded from: <http://hebrewscripturesandmore.com/APTS-Subpages/BOT640/Documents/Numbers-12-Paper.pdf>.

⁷⁴ See my arguments for going against the scholarly consensus of separating 12.6-8 from its context in chapters 11ff. *ibid.*, 12-13.

⁷⁵ See Davies, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Numbers*, 162-68 for a summary of the redactional history of chapter 16. See also George W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness: The Murmuring Motif in the Wilderness Traditions of the Old Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), 156-84.

⁷⁶ Milgrom, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers*, 129. Risto Nurmela, *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, no. 193 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 129 divides Num 16 into only three groupings: "Three different formations can thus be discerned in Numbers 16: a rebellion against Moses, a rebellion against Moses and Aaron, and a rebellion against Aaron, whereby Moses acts as a neutral judge who lets Yahweh settle the quarrel."

⁷⁷ Jacob Milgrom, "The Rebellion of Korah, Numbers 16-18: A Study in Tradition History," in *Society of Biblical Literature: 1988 Seminar Papers*, SBL Seminar Paper Series, no. 27. ed. David Lull (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 570-573.

In verses 1-4 of chapter 16 the different rebellious leaders are introduced, one after the other. The legitimacy of the leaders may vary. Korah may have a certain level of legitimacy as a Levite, while we cannot be sure of the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram.⁷⁸ It is possible that they were from a military faction, but the evidence is weak.⁷⁹ If military, were they elders like those of Exod 18 that combined the role of judge with military leadership? The 250 are described as tribal leaders/chieftains, but chieftains that were somehow deeply integrated into the *עדה* (נשיאי עדה, 16.2). Moses and Aaron are generally charged with *lèse majesty* against the *קהל/עדה* by an unspecified act or attitude of "arrogance or presumption."⁸⁰

Korah and a group of Levites are depicted first as pitting themselves against Aaron in 16.5-11. The leadership struggle here is not governance in general, but specifically that of ministerial access, i.e., "to approach" or "to draw near" (קרב/√), therefore Aaron and his priesthood (16.10, 11) are the object of their envy. A precedent had been set when the tribal leaders offered gifts and dedicatory offerings and Num 7 could have been the narratological thorn. The root used to describe this was קרב, thus possibly opening the door to an irritant in which Korah and his disaffected cohorts secede from the *עדה* of Israel and establish their own. Milgrom has differentiated the two *עדות* by pointing out that the *עדה* of Israel in these chapters are designated by a definite article or lack the clarifying pronominal suffix that is used for Korah's *עדה*.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Gordon J. Wenham, *Numbers. An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1981), 134-35, notes that the Korahites and Reubenites were encamped in close proximity, therefore possibly accounting for their joint contention. Scholars utilizing source analysis tend to divide the groups according to the JE and P sources. This then would place the contentions in different time periods.

⁷⁹ H. S. Nahmani in Magonet, "The Korah Rebellion," 8, argues that Dathan and Abiram were from a military faction that was staging a coup in light of the failed attempt to go up into Palestine (14.40-45). His main evidence is that in 16.27 they are described as coming out of their tents and "taking their stand" (פחה אהליהם). (יצאו נצבים).

⁸⁰ Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 412.

⁸¹ Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," 71-72. Korah's *עדה* is found in 16.5, 6, 11, 16; 17.5, while *Israel's עדה* is found in 16.19, 21, 22, 24, 24; 17.6, 7, 10, 11.

The narrative does not indicate that the Levites that were accompanying Korah were judged. Moses' retort in 16.8-11 may have been sufficient to have checked their revolt. The concluding episode concerning the staff of the tribal leaders (Num 17.16-35 [17.1-13]) may function as a chiasmic closure to their complaints. However, if so, its conclusion is ambiguous since it was not a test on a sub-tribal level within the Levites.

The second rebellion episode is between Dathan, Abiram and Moses in Num 16.12-15. Unlike Korah and his levitical ערה, Dathan and Abiram are not present and are summoned by Moses. They defiantly refuse this summons (לא נעלה, 16.12, 14). The struggle is a governance issue since they refuse Moses' summons,⁸² contests his guidance in the wilderness (16.13) and his leadership style is questioned (כִּי־חֲשָׁתֶרֶר עָלַי נִסְיָה־שִׁתְרֶר).⁸³ The Hithpa'el of the verb שִׁתְרֶר that is used here indicates that Dathan and Abiram charged Moses with "elevating himself to a higher position of authority over the people."⁸⁴ Milgrom claims that the form of this verb connotes "playing or pretending to be the lord."⁸⁵ This is not the first time that such accusation against Moses has been made (Exod 2.14 the noun שָׂר is used here). According to Dathan and Abiram, Moses had failed in his promise to bring the people to a land flowing with milk and honey,⁸⁶ therefore he has been deceiving them⁸⁷ and should be removed from leadership.⁸⁸ The affirmation of Moses' leadership and the rejection of

⁸² Magonet, "The Korah Rebellion," 18.

⁸³ Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness*, 178. Coats writes, "the complaint has nothing to do with the issue of the Exodus but with a problem of Moses' authority over the people."

⁸⁴ Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness*, 165.

⁸⁵ Milgrom, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers*, 133.

⁸⁶ See Nurmela, *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood*, 132-33.

⁸⁷ The meaning of "Would you put out the eyes of these men?" (הֲאֵנְשֵׁים הָהֵם חֲנֻקִים) is obscure. Does it mean that Moses is accused of bribery (Coats, 165), hoodwinking (Milgrom, 134), punishing the people as "runaway slaves, prisoners, and rebellious vassals" (so Levine, 414)?

⁸⁸ Timothy Ashely, *The Book of Numbers*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1993), 303 suggest that the contention was the the Reubenites "felt slighted that the rights of the firstborn had been lost. . . ." Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 424, sees the problem as a "Transjordanian

Dathan and Abiram's charges are ultimately recorded in Num 16.27-34. It is important to note that it was a divine act, i.e., "the earth opened up its mouth and swallowed them up" (וַתִּפְתַּח הָאָרֶץ אֶת־פִּיהָ וַחֲבָלָה אֹתָם) (16.32a). It is usually deduced that Korah being mentioned in 16.27, met his demise along with Dathan and Abiram.

The third episode, Num 16.16-18, focuses on Korah as a leader of the 250 tribal leaders who were introduced in 16.2. The use of the censers as a test tends to blur the dividing line between the Levites of 16.5-11 and these chieftains.⁸⁹ This interpretative problem may be artificial and caused by an inappropriate division between secular – governance issues and the sacred – religious struggles.⁹⁰ The rebellion of the 250 is concluded by a notification that they were incinerated (16.35a-β). The issue of "approach" (קָרַב), continued from chapter 7 may be behind their contentions since the root appears frequently in their execution and the disposal of the censers.

The fourth episode (16.19-22) is initiated by Korah in his attempted coup. He assembles, not just his own ערה, but in 16.19 and 22 it is the true Israelite ערה. They are an important and legitimate governing body, but one wonders if their Achilles heel is not their susceptibility to mass hysteria with their collective constitution. As a whole they lack culpability and therefore they are made to separate themselves from Korah's ערה (הַעֲרָה הַזֹּאת, 16.21aβ). The ערה is spared in 16.23-27a, only to respond negatively to Moses and Aaron in 17.1-15 (16.36-50) and

dispute and to Moses' insistence that all of the tribes take part in the conquest of Canaan, west of Jordan."

⁸⁹ Nurmela, *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood*, 131, argues that 250 is a rather low number for a major rebellion when compared with the 603,400 figure of Num 1.46 and the 14,700 take die in Num 17.14. Therefore, "the figure 250 might be appropriate to an account about tensions within the priesthood. Thus it might, in fact, reflect historical circumstances, at least concerning the number of Levites who opposed the Aaronic priests."

⁹⁰ Martin Noth, "Office and Vocation in the Old Testament," in *The Laws in the*

Pentateuch and other studies, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (London: SCM Press, 1966), 229-30 writes: "In the ancient Near East . . . - and this is especially true of the Old Testament – the spheres of the sacred and the profane, the spiritual and the worldly, the divine and the human, were not separated off from one another. A separate set of laws for the "worldly" institutions and offices could not have existed. This is particularly true since Old Testament belief recognizes no order or events on earth which are not created by God, and over whose history God has not stood as Lord. In Old Testament belief one had to be constantly aware of God's direct and unexpected action."

thereby incur their own deserved divine punishment. It is poetic justice that Aaron and his censer stand at the line of demarcation between those who would live and those who would die, thereby affirming once again Aaron's divine appointment.

The overall thrust of the narrative of Korah's rebellion is one of rejection of divine leadership. The spheres of the sacred (priestly hierarchy) and secular (governance hierarchy) are intertwined and contested. The tests via censers and staff are not normative means of testing the validity of leadership. The punishment of earth swallowing up the obstinate or being incinerated are outside the normal purview of disciplinary activity. It ultimately argues that generally speaking, Moses and Aaron must be placed outside the parameters of a repeatable model of leadership **legitimation**.⁹¹

⁹¹ Philip J. Budd, *Numbers: Word Biblical Commentary*, Volume 5, electronic edition (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1984), argues that 16.1-35 was actually used to justify the establishment of a post-exilic priestly hierarchy. The above argument based on the uniqueness of Moses and Aaron would make such application within post-exilic struggles hard to sustain. - _

TOWARD A PENTECOSTAL HERMENEUTIC: OBSERVATIONS
ON ARCHER'S PROGRESSIVE PROPOSAL

Paul Elbert

This book¹ polishes a former doctoral thesis at the University of St. Andrews supervised by Richard Bauckham who observes in his jacket comment that it provides "both an illuminating reading of the history of Pentecostal hermeneutics as well as an insightful proposal for the kind of Pentecostal hermeneutic that is appropriate to our contemporary context." The argument, advanced in six well-articulated and understandable stages, is that in the development of the century-old movement there can be found an authentic Pentecostal hermeneutical approach which can be retrieved and reappropriated. If so, it could begin to challenge and perhaps, in time, even replace an overtly presuppositionally-based interpretive practice rooted in the Protestant Reformation with respect to the Holy Spirit in New Testament texts.

Archer necessarily first defines this revivalist, restorationist, gender-insensitive and multi-racial movement from the perspective of its origins. Its growth involved a rejection of historically accumulated rationalistic excess and instead offered wholeness, healing, and a frame of reference for understanding human experience and ultimate spiritual concerns. A passion for the Kingdom of God arose from a reading of the biblical metanarrative and a passionate desire for unmediated experience with the heavenly Jesus and with the Holy Spirit. Archer rejects secular definitions of Pentecostalism provided by historians who appeal to social forces or to an evangelicalized or rationally sanitized rewriting of Pentecostal history. Instead, Pentecostalism originated and progressed due to the logical

¹ Kenneth J. Archer, *A Pentecostal Hermeneutic for the Twenty-First Century: Spirit, Scripture and Community*, JPTSup 28 (London/New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), hardback, xii + 219 pp., ISBN 0-567-08367-5, £40.00.

coherence of the Five/Four Fold Pentecostal message validated by supernatural signs amongst the community and in direct opposition to the predominate worldview of rationalistic, philosophical, and cessationistic presuppositions traditionally applied both to narrative and to epistolary discourse in the New Testament. To validate this definition Archer appeals directly to personal testimony of the participants, making no attempt either to make their testimony conform to contemporary secular models of reality or to pour modern historiographical odium upon it. This seems particularly appropriate, given the one hundred-year celebrations of the Azusa Street phenomenon (1906-2006) now underway in Los Angeles and throughout the world.²

Next, Archer elucidates the confrontational paradigm shift away from the dominant hermeneutical context of the early-nineteenth century, with both its intensive Enlightenment-oriented and dispensational thinking, toward an authentic Pentecostal hermeneutic. The Pentecostals said "yes" to both the authority and trustworthiness of Scripture and to the authority of experience based upon Scripture's trustworthiness and reliability. Archer finds it unfortunate then that American Pentecostals, under the pressure of evangelicalization, joined the National Association of Evangelicals in the 1940s and reworked their doctrine of Scripture to embrace "inerrancy." This caused a deleterious invasion of a "modernistic foundation already poured by the academic Fundamentalists at the turn of the twentieth century (which assumed that) the Pentecostals simply had to be educated into the modernistic thought and argument of the more 'intellectual' tradition" (64). In considering the New Testament writers themselves, one does not get the impression that they wrote first and foremost just to convey propositional truth, but to encourage faith-response. Pressing on from the concepts of the trustworthiness and reliability of Scripture to that of "inerrancy" seems to have just emphasized the correctness of Protestant doctrines, those articulated and those unarticulated as well, rather than to enhance the thoughtful study of Scripture on its own terms. In any case, as far as Pentecostals are concerned, perhaps results of this evangelistically suppressing and shame-enhancing union with "inerrancy" and its

² See, for example, Estrela Alexander, *The Women of Azusa Street* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2005); Grant McClung, ed., *Azusa Street and Beyond: 100 Years of Commentary on the Global Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement* (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006). Harold H. Hunter and Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., eds., *The Azusa Street Revival and Its Legacy* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway, 2006); Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival* (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 2006); and Kimberly E. Alexander, *Pentecostal Healing. Models in Theology and Practice* (JPTSup; Blandford Forum, Dorset: Deo, 2006), 73-84.

rationalistically geared overtones may be observable today in the marginalizing of testimony, tarrying, and in the propensity of some to be led more by their own acquisition of academic history than by dreams, visions, and the Holy Spirit.

In his fourth chapter, "Early Pentecostal Biblical Interpretation," Archer works from original literature to discern a commonsensical Bible Reading Method that relied upon inductive and deductive reasoning skills to interpret Scripture in light of Scripture under the illumination of the Holy Spirit. According to Archer, this is different from the traditional scholastic Protestant Christianity, which employed more of "proof-texting system" (74). The Bible Reading Method was thoroughly pietistic and synchronic, requiring all of the biblical data to be gathered and harmonized with respect to plot and context. The biblical past and the present could thereby potentially unite, contrary to traditional epochalistic-oriented creeds and ecclesiastical dictums that suggested, and even demanded, otherwise. Oneness and Trinitarian Pentecostals saw the first Jerusalem Pentecost and its ensuing repetitions in the ministry of disciple-believer-witnesses as narrated by Luke as a "commanded promise" (91) for all Christians who were afar off, whether they be Jew or Gentile, a personal promise to all believers beyond narrative time.

How this reading method of the Pentecostal story forged a convincing hermeneutical narrative tradition and arrived at meaning is illustrated (99) by its contemporary employment in L. Daniel Hawk's narrative study of Joshua.³ Plot encompasses the framework of the story and its detailed arrangement of incidents and patterns as they relate to each other. This understanding of plot also operates in the mind of the reader who then tends to organize and make connections between events. Hence, the narrative elicits a dynamic interpretive relationship between text and readers. One may note as well that the great narratives of Homer have long been read by classicists in just this manner, similar to how Homer was read by Greco-Roman students in the New Testament period. But of course Pentecostals were (and very much today are) engaged in a battle of interpretation with their Protestant forerunners who inherited a catechistic tradition of what may be considered to be "apostolic-age" hermeneutics.⁴

³ L. Daniel Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled: Contrasting Plots in Joshua* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991).

⁴ With respect to Evangelical Protestants, Archer was a participant in a recent five year dialogue with them as critiqued in my "Pentecostal/Charismatic Themes in Luke-Acts at the Evangelical Theological Society: The Battle of Interpretive Method," *JPT* 1212 (2004), 181-215, here 188, n. 23. Previous to this he had already whetted our appetite for the details of his thesis that Pentecostal hermeneutics will

In this scheme the New Testament and Luke-Acts in particular was (and is) read cessationistically through narrowly selected Pauline glasses and via the imposition of epochalistic temporal carvings and the cocooning of narrated events: both approaches being of course foreign to the Bible Reading Method as discerned by Archer. The latter method naturally places a literary emphasis on coherence, cohesion, and biblical metanarrative whereby the spiritual past and the spiritual present could be harmoniously fused. The traditional Reformed-style approach to Lukan narrative, on the other hand, tends, in effect, to disrupt narrative continuity and coherence. The primary goal, that is, the standard historically venerated function of acceptable hermeneutical practice, is to "make-it-fit." Basically, Calvin's presupposition that Peter, at the end of his speech in Acts chapter two, could not possibly be promising his audience the same gift of the Holy Spirit that he himself just received because such non-rational events were confined to an "apostolic age" is implicitly adopted as "right." Narrative sensitivity in the area of the Holy Spirit and Luke-Acts does not come to the fore. The dominant presuppositions are that Spirit-reception by disciple-believer-witnesses ceased after the last ink dried and that salvific experience by characters portrayed in Luke's first book did not exist or, if it did, it is made to vanish at the end of that book. To extend the latter presupposition artificial temporal epochs are imposed upon the narrative. The functional result of this narratively divisive practice is that Spirit-reception at the beginning of Luke's second book can be made salvific, dubbed "once for all," since "Pentecost can never be repeated."

These presuppositions are very dominant in the interpretive practice of Evangelical Protestantism and have roots in the sixteenth century. To disbelieve them would put one distinctly outside of that faith-tradition, perhaps making one a theological unperson. Later readers of Luke's text, as contrasted with original readers, are expected to adhere to the presuppositions of the model. The "apostolic age" version of Reformed-style hermeneutics with respect to Luke-Acts and the Holy Spirit also simply assumes and requires that the examples and precedents of Spirit-reception, which serve a Lukan fulfillment of prophecy theme, are confined to

enrich the study of interpretation in the twenty-first century via his observations that "Pentecostalism's contribution to hermeneutics is in the area of community participation and experiential understanding. There exists a promising Pentecostal hermeneutic rooted in the classical spiritual ethos of Pentecostalism" (Kenneth J. Archer, "Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Retrospect and Prospect," *JPT* 8 [1996], 63-81 [81]) and his argument that "Pentecostals used the Bible Reading Method with a desire both to believe and obey . . . nor did they create a new method" (Kenneth J. Archer, "Early Pentecostal Biblical Interpretations," *JPT* 18 [2001], 32-70 [69-70]).

characters in the narrative. This encapsulating presupposition is seldom articulated, it is just "the way things are." It is unquestioned and unexamined. Traditional resistance to experience and to the non-rational and non-cognitive seem equally presuppositional. In this incoherent scheme, however, salvific experience by later readers is compared with salvific experience of characters portrayed in Luke's first book. Spirit-reception by later readers, that is, prayerfully receiving the promised gift of the Holy Spirit from the heavenly Jesus as Lukan characters did, cannot exist in this interpretive model. Additionally, the concept of knowing based on personal experience with the Spirit of Jesus, even though that experience may be compared with the experience of characters in a New Testament text, is viewed askance. This attitude goes back in Protestant scholarship to the assumption that a "post-apostolic age" Holy Spirit operates beyond the "Pentecostal age," that is beyond the supposed "apostolic age" which entombs both Pentecostal experience and Pentecostal history. Instead, for later readers, knowing or acquiring knowledge by reading texts alone is the approved rationalistic paradigm. This paradigm has two effects, first, to appear to venerate texts, and second, to imply that the "make-it-fit" interpretive program of the Evangelical Protestant faith-tradition is necessarily "right" if not mandatory.

Pentecostals in Archer's proposal, on the other hand, offering a much needed breath of fresh hermeneutical air, allow for the biblical stories to challenge, reshape, and build their tradition and are comfortable with Central Narrative Convictions (114-18) like "repetitive themes, aspects of narrated time, plot development, and characterization" (118). Archer suggests that an intuitive grasp of narrative features is probably facilitated among people who have a reliance on oral communication and who listen to how stories are told, perhaps being similar culturally to hearers in the first century to whom New Testament documents were read (and to such hearers in the majority world today). From the point of view of the Bible Reading Method and the concept of a Latter Rain from the Old Testament, a New Pentecost seemed entirely realistic and right, so that one might conclude "Pentecostal worship was more than it seemed. Outsiders saw only fanaticism, but insiders saw more. They discerned order within disorder, reason within unreason. Not a bad bargain for saints heaven bound."⁵

The last two chapters, "Current Pentecostal Hermeneutical Concerns" and "A Contemporary Hermeneutical Strategy" focus on guidelines for the future. In hermeneutical concerns, six scholars (all Pentecostals, in addition

⁵ Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 111.

to the charismatic Methodist L. Daniel Hawk, cited above) come to the fore, namely French Arrington, Howard Ervin, John McKay, Mark McLean, Roger Stronstad, and John Christopher Thomas. Archer skillfully highlights their important contributions to interpretative technique and method, to which should be added the study of James Shelton.⁶ Archer hopes, in his words, "to avoid the epistemological foundationalism of Modernity and reappropriate the active participation of the community and Holy Spirit in the interpretive process" (195).

Pentecostals who might argue that Luke's pneumatology is different from and is ignorant of a Pauline pneumatology, are assessed among Archer's hermeneutical concerns as following "the hermeneutic of evangelicalism" (140), which might be otherwise labeled as an "apostolic-age" hermeneutic. Of course, this circumstance in some Pentecostal interpretation is only to be expected, due to the drum beat that the New Testament reflects unity and diversity pushed to the extreme, so that any possible Lukan theology and pneumatology discerned in disagreement with five hundred years of established Reformed-style interpretation and its assured results--must necessarily be off somewhere in the wild blue yonder, distinctively Lukan. Lukan pneumatology, if it exists at all, must be different from that of Paul because Paul cannot be a precursor to Lukan though in this regard. Hence the pressure to divide Luke from Paul against the grain of the spiritual and literary environment of early Christianity. Archer provides a penetrating critique of this overly divisive (and presuppositionally replete)⁷ interpretive agenda, which he appropriately labels as the "Evangelical Historical Critical Method" (148-54).

One might consider the "Evangelical Historical Critical Method" to be a scholarly name of the task and art of a purging process. Pentecostal

⁶ James B. Shelton, "Epistemology and Authority in the Acts of the Apostles: An Analysis and Test Case Study of Acts 15:1-29," *The Spirit and Church* 2/2 (2002), 231-37.

⁷ As to the presuppositional component, Stanton is astute to stress that philosophical and doctrinal presuppositions "have exercised a profound influence on interpretation right up to the present day" (Graham N. Stanton, "Presuppositions in New Testament Criticism," in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* [ed. I. H. Marshall; Exeter: Paternoster, 1977], 62). A possible confluence of the aforementioned presuppositions hidden in the "Evangelical Historical Critical Method" might be perceived to have quite an intense hermeneutical effect. In this regard, perhaps another observation by Stanton may not be too wide of the mark: "If an individual's prejudice is so deep seated that, in effect, a verdict is passed before the evidence is even considered, then, surely, prejudice negates the possibility of understanding a text" ("Presuppositions," 62).

experience and Pentecostal history (New Testament *Pfingsterfarung* and *Pfingstgeschichte*) within ongoing salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*) and Spirit history (*Pneumageschichte*) are among its prime victims. In particular, in the case of the unarticulated, undisclosed, and narratively truncating epochalistic presuppositions which are evidently incorporated into the Reformed-style scheme of "historical-critical" or "apostolic age" hermeneutics applied to the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts, where prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit is purged from the faith-response of later readers and narrative continuity within Luke's double-work is marginalized, Luke has been routinely criticized and chastised over the years for not "making-it-fit." Luke's own contemporary narrative-rhetorical literary and Greco-Roman educational context is never considered in this approach. The only plausible explanation, with all due respect, is that Luke is just not the sixteenth century man he should be. However, perhaps his apparent familiarity with the non-rational, his descriptive attention to the experiential, his emphasis on examples and precedents, and his apparent literary effort to excel in the narrative-rhetorical expectations of his day render him ill-starred to "make-it-fit." Given this, perhaps then a fresh approach to Luke-Acts and its relation to the rest of the New Testament might be appropriate. Perhaps argument which either imitates the functional intent of the narratively unattuned epochalistic carving of Luke-Acts, or the supportive assumption of authorial isolation prevalent in past Protestant scholarship, might also be reconsidered in light of reasonably expected theological and pneumatological links between Luke and his esteemed predecessor, with apologies for mentioning my own work.

In his hermeneutical strategy, Archer offers suggestions as to how an interdependent tridactic dialogue between Scripture and its story world, the Holy Spirit, and readers in community can result in a negotiated meaning that is creative and practical. Archer wants to stimulate a hermeneutical strategy that is informed by an "early Pentecostal ethos" and to challenge a heretofore-uncritical acceptance of the "Evangelical modernistic approach" (195) among Pentecostals. Archer wants to de-emphasize

⁸ Paul Elbert, "Possible Literary Links Between Luke-Acts and Paul's Letters Regarding Spirit-Language," in *Intertextuality in the New Testament* (ed. Thomas Brodie, Stanley Porter, and Dennis MacDonald; Sheffield: Sheffield-Phoenix Press, 2006), forthcoming. An expanded version of the thesis offered in Brodie *et al.*, ed., *Intertextuality*, was presented at the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary (March 2006), entitled "Probable Literary Connections Between Luke-Acts and Paul Regarding Spirit-Language."

the predominant attention in that approach to discern "the past determinate meaning of the author's intent" and to emphasize "the reality that interpretation involves both the discovery and creation of meaning for the present" (194). He undoubtedly feels that the modernistic Evangelical methodology, replete with the Spirit-extinguishing heritage of both Lukan and Pauline cessationism along with its divisive and contextually disruptive presuppositions, has leaned too much toward the world behind the text, perhaps overly concentrating, for example, on its historicity or on its presumed affixment to an "apostolic age," rather than toward an appropriate unity between the biblical text and the present context (193). In all of this Archer raises a significant point. However, one might observe that when a New Testament author's probable original meaning, as deduced by due and careful attention to the contemporary communicative procedures in the Greco-Roman world,⁹ comes into coincidence with present experience, the community would then find a sense of helpful assurance, an assurance which I am sure that Archer would indeed welcome and appreciate.

In conclusion, Archer's critical hard-hitting thesis is not a simplistic or romanticized vision of the past or of the present. The cumulative impression of the evidence Archer adduces is that the Spirit, Scripture, and the Spirit-filled community can thoughtfully, experientially, and practically function together. Any emphasis on the intrinsic rhetorical power of texts which complements the usual practice of knowing meaning via *interpretation/exegesis* alone is welcome. Sometime Archer's presentation borders a bit on the socio-jargonistic side, but he

⁹ This approach, also quite commonsensical as well by contemporary critical standards with respect to authorial integrity, would, I suggest, be substantially similar to a "bible reading method" with its inherent application of interpretive principles as cogently framed by Adele Berlin in her presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature, "A Search for a New Biblical Hermeneutics: Preliminary Observations," in *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (ed. J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 195-207. As to the narrative-rhetorical procedures in the first-century Greco-Roman world (intellectual practices quite different indeed from the "apostolic age" or "historical-critical" hermeneutic of Evangelical Protestantism and much more akin the Bible Reading Method detected by Archer) which influenced narrative-rhetorical composition and interpretation in the literary tradition at that time, see Elbert, "Possible" and "Probable."

provides a short glossary of terms (197-98) with definitions for those unattuned to such worldviews. However, I find Archer's analysis to be easily navigated, entertaining, wonderfully succinct and plausible, filled with 'interpretive gems and insights that have an instinctive appeal. Therefore throughout the century ahead, as its title suggests, his thesis could provide a stimulating introductory tonic to both hermeneutics and to faith-experience throughout the major sectors of Christendom.

BOOK REVIEW

Youngmo Cho, *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile these Concepts*, Paternoster Biblical Monographs, Foreword by Robert P. Menzies (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2005), paper 6 x 9, xviii + 227 (+ 9) pp., ISBN: 1-84227-316-7, US\$ 29.99.

The publication of Youngmo Cho's doctoral thesis at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland, with the same title *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul*, is a courageous proposal for making connection between a pair of currently popular biblical beliefs. The subtitle, *An Attempt to Reconcile these Concepts*, captures what his thesis proposes to accomplish. The main input of this volume is the exploration of the character of the kingdom teaching of Jesus as indicated in the Gospel of Luke in connection with the Spirit doctrine of Paul as presented in his epistles. In the author's own words: "Paul reformulates the Christian message, which centers on the kingdom of God, in new terms, primarily by speaking of the Spirit in a new and comprehensive way." (p. 11) Cho argues that the limited use of the kingdom concept in Paul was due to the alternative notion of the life in the Spirit. And "what Jesus sees as the blessings brought about when God's kingdom is inaugurated, Paul describes as the effects of the working of the Spirit." (p. 11) A fresh look at the nature of the Lukan and Pauline pneumatologies that the author provides is not only helpful in clarifying the current scholarly debates, but is also helpful for current church issues. In Cho's seminal work he employs the works of James Dunn, Robert Menzies and Max Turner, and uses the three of them as his main dialogue partners in developing his own views.

After reviewing the contributions of Dunn, Menzies and Turner in chapter one, the writer surveys the intertestamental literature's representation of the Spirit in the second chapter. He investigates the Jewish writings between the Old and New Testaments and focuses his study on whether the prophetic Spirit was linked with "life-giving wisdom." The author commends Menzies for his broad examination of the Jewish literature in the intertestamental setting. Cho comes up with a similar conclusion as Menzies: "The intertestamental Jewish literature generally understands the Spirit as the source of prophetic inspiration, but the Spirit is not generally understood as the giver of life-giving wisdom." (p. 51) The author follows the line of Menzies' argument that the Lukan understanding of the Spirit is the traditional intertestamental

limited view of the prophetic Spirit that builds on the typical Jewish pneumatology as his interpretive framework.

Cho clearly identifies Dunn's position as advancing "a continuity between Luke and Paul in terms of the understanding of the covenantal promises" in the prophetic writings. (p. 6) He notes that for Dunn, "The Spirit is the manifestation of the kingdom in both Luke (and the other Synoptics) and Paul." (pp. 6-7) The writer also describes the arbitrary view of Turner who thinks that the reception of the Spirit in Luke "should not be a matrix of new covenant life for the disciples (contra Dunn), nor should it be confined to empowering witness (contra Menzies), but it is to be understood as both prophetic empowering for witness and a soteriological gift." (p. 9) He further evaluates Turner's inclination to consider the Spirit as bestowing "life-giving wisdom so that he mediates the wisdom of God at a fundamental level as necessary for true life (or fellowship) with God in the covenant community." (p. 10)

The review and the discussion of the material in chapter two is an interesting read. The basic thesis of Turner is falsified and his examples scrutinized. The author did a good job in going through the primary sources within the intertestamental period. He also appeals for the reconsideration of the use of the rabbinic sources due to the problem of anachronism. Cho basically argues that Turner's view of the Spirit from Qumran literature and Wisdom of Solomon should be modified. He further points out that the view of Turner in Ezekiel 36 needs modification in light of Joel's prophecy on the outpouring of the Spirit. The soteriological aspect of the Spirit in both the Palestinian and Hellenistic Jewish writings is marginal. Rather, the Spirit of prophecy is dominant in terms of the origin of wisdom. (See pp. 14-51)

In chapter three Cho formulates his theory on the relationship of Spirit in the apostle Paul and the kingdom in the Synoptic Gospels. His discussions in defining the key terms, kingdom and Spirit, bring the question of their relationship in focus. It is enlightening to see the connections of the kingdom of God in the Synoptics and the Spirit in Paul that the author presented in terms of the "new life," "sonship," and "resurrection." (pp. 68-89) Furthermore, the writer deals with "righteousness" and "ethics" in the Synoptics and Paul. (pp. 90-107) The similarities of these notions between the Synoptic Gospels and Pauline Epistles are clear and pointing to the life in the kingdom in the Synoptics and the life in the Spirit in Paul.

At the beginning of the fourth chapter, the writer interacts with Dunn. He contends that Dunn's position on the Lukan presentation of the Jordan river baptism of Jesus as the induction of his sonship should be adjusted. According to Cho, Luke's intent in his baptism account where Jesus received the Spirit in the form of a dove is the granting of the Spirit for his messianic task. (pp. 111-116) He then continues to engage with Dunn, and other scholars and also with Turner, on the role of the Spirit in the prophecy of John and the temptations of Jesus. And he maintains that the purpose of the bestowal of the Spirit is to release the believing from sin and assist them to walk in righteousness. (pp. 116-133). The other half of the chapter is spent on the discussion of resurrection and the Spirit as well as the Spirit reception passages in Luke-Acts. (pp. 133-161) Cho's conclusion that "the Spirit is not presented as the agent of the resurrection, but Luke portrays the work of the Spirit as an empowering force which enables the apostles to proclaim resurrection" is persuasive. (p. 136) Moreover, the author's view that whereas Luke detaches the Spirit from the blessings of the kingdom because for the Gospel writer the prophetic Spirit, as Menzies insinuated earlier, is the source of the believers' empowerment, is well argued in the last section of this chapter.

The title of the last chapter "The Primary Role of the Spirit in Relation to the Kingdom of God in Luke-Acts: Proclamation" encapsulates the content of this chapter's line of reasoning. Cho's arrangement of material and his views are helpful in understanding the importance of the concept of the prophetic Spirit in the Lukan writings because the soteriological function is not attributed to the Spirit by Luke. Rather, the Spirit is linked with the proclamation of the message of Christ. Again in this chapter Cho resumes his analysis of Dunn's views where he thinks that this prominent scholar "oversimplified the nature of the relationship" between the kingdom and the Spirit in Luke's writings. (p. 171) For the writer of this volume, he argues convincingly that the Luke-Acts emphasis on proclaiming the kingdom of God is the empowering by the Spirit and not necessarily that the Spirit is a demonstration of the kingdom. (See pp. 171-195)

The thesis is well written and readable. The conclusion presented by the author in chapter six clearly reflects the result of the research. Cho sums up his research on Luke's understanding of the nature of the relationship between the kingdom of the Spirit in a succinct manner: "Luke's connection of the Spirit to the kingdom is represented in a specific or restricted manner: the Spirit is depicted as the source by which the kingdom of God is proclaimed." (p. 197) Likewise, the author claims that: "Paul's understanding of the connection is more fully

developed by expressing the concept of the kingdom in terms of the Spirit. The Spirit becomes a vehicle by which the benefits of the kingdom-life are wholly operative in believers' hearts." (p. 197)

The bibliography is very substantial. The indices are helpful in finding the references in the biblical and intertestamental sources as well as the authors that the writer cited. There are few unedited typographical errors and minimal unclear statements. It is understandable that small mistakes may not be detected in the final editing due to the technical nature of this monograph. As a monograph in paperback form the price is reasonable; however, the binding of the book is very weak and the pages of volume I used for my review were easily detached from the binding.

Although Cho's research did not break new ground in the field of the kingdom and the Spirit, his thesis is nevertheless original. He strongly pushes the prophetic Spirit theory of Menzies to a new plane of the nature of its relationship with the kingdom of God. The author's own contribution to the debate is a timely affirmation of Menzies' central thesis. It is a successful attempt to bridge a gap in understanding the kingdom of God in Luke-Acts, not as a manifestation of the Spirit but rather the message to be proclaimed in the power of the Spirit. His constant interaction with Turner and Dunn throughout the thesis challenges them to modify their basic similar theories that the association of the kingdom and Spirit in Paul and Luke are basically the same. Overall this volume is a welcome contribution for a better understanding of the Spirit and the kingdom teachings in Luke and Paul. It is a helpful writing that can be recommended for the more informed student of the Bible and professional scholars to read, that will provide much profit in understanding the current debate in Pentecostal understanding of the Spirit and the Kingdom in Luke and Paul.

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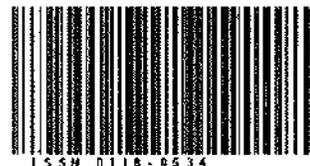
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